



William Scott Kerr.
of Chatto.



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AN
E S S A Y
ON
UNIVERSAL HISTORY,
THE
MANNERS, AND SPIRIT
OF
N A T I O N S,

From the Reign of CHARLEMAIGN

To the Age of LEWIS XIV.

Written in French by M. de VOLTAIRE.

Translated into English,

With additional Notes and Chronological Tables.

By Mr. NUGENT.

The SECOND EDITION, revised, and considerably
improved by the AUTHOR.

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Y A S S E

ON

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

THE

MAXIMS OF SPIRIT

IN

THE ART OF WAR

FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF A GENERAL

TO THE PRINCE OF LIEGE XIV.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY M. DE VILLARS

AND REVISED INTO ENGLISH

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

BY MR. NUGENT

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THE CONTENTS.

CHAP. XLVIII.

OF the East and Jenghiz-chan. Page 1

CHAP. XLIX.

*Of Charles of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies;
and of the Sicilian Vespers.* 15

CHAP. L.

Of the Crusade against the Albigenfes. 19

CHAP. LI.

State of Europe in the thirteenth century. 27

CHAP. LII.

Of Spain, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. 32

CHAP. LIII.

Of Philip the Fair, and Boniface VIII. 44

CHAP. LIV.

*Of the punishment of the knights templars, and of
the suppression of this order.* 52

CHAP. LV.

*Of the revolution of Swisserland in the beginning of
the fourteenth century.* 58

A 2

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. LVI.

Continuation of the state of the Empire, Italy, and the Papedom, in the fourteenth century. 63

CHAP. LVII.

Of Joan, queen of Naples. 73

CHAP. LVIII.

Of the emperor Charles IV. and the return of the holy see from Avignon to Rome. 80

CHAP. LIX.

Of the great schism of the West. 85

CHAP. LX.

The Council of Constance. 94

CHAP. LXI.

Of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. 101

CHAP. LXII.

State of Europe towards the time of the council of Constance. 109

CHAP. LXIII.

Of France and England, during the reigns of Philip of Valois and Edward III. 116

CHAP. LXIV.

Of France during the reign of king John. 132

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. LXV.

Of the Black Prince, the king of Castile, Don Pedro the Cruel, and the constable du Guesclin. 141

CHAP. LXVI.

Of France and England, during the reign of Charles V. 145

CHAP. LXVII.

Of King Charles VI. and the fresh invasion of France by Henry V, king of England. 152

CHAP. LXVIII.

Of France during the reign of Charles VII. 164

CHAP. LXIX.

Manners and customs, arts and sciences, towards the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 172

CHAP. LXX.

Infranchisements, privileges of cities, states general. 190

CHAP. LXXI.

Of taxes and coins. 194

CHAP. LXXII.

Of the parliament to the reign of Charles VII. 198

CHAP. LXXIII.

Of the council of Basil held at the time of Charles VII. 205

CHAP. LXXIV.

Of the decline of the Greek empire. 214

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. LXXV.

Of Tamerlane. 218

CHAP. LXXVI.

Continuation of the history of the Turks, and of the Greeks till the taking of Constantinople. 227

CHAP. LXXVII.

Of Scanderbeg. 231

CHAP. LXXVIII.

Of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. 234

CHAP. LXXIX.

Of the progress of the Turks. 245

CHAP. LXXX.

Of Lewis XI, king of France. 257

CHAP. LXXXI.

Of Burgundy and the Swifs at the time of Lewis XI, in the fifteenth century. 269

CHAP. LXXXII.

Of Chivalry. 275

CHAP. LXXXIII.

Of the feudal government after Lewis XI, in the fifteenth century. 280

CHAP. LXXXIV.

Of Charles VIII, and the state of Europe when he undertook the conquest of Naples. 285

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

CHAP. LXXXV.

State of Europe at the end of the 15th century. 288

CHAP. LXXXVI.

Of the conquest of Naples. Of Zizim, brother of Bajazet II. Of Pope Alexander VI, &c. 307

CHAP. LXXXVII.

Of Savonarola. 316

CHAP. LXXXVIII.

Of Picus of Mirandola. 319

CHAP. LXXXIX.

Of Pope Alexander, and king Lewis XII. 322

CHAP. XC.

Wickedness of the family of Alexander VI, and of Casar Borgia : the affairs of Lewis XII, and Ferdinand the catholic, continued : death of pope Alexander VI. 330

CHAP. XCI.

The political affairs of Lewis XII continued. 337

CHAP. XCII.

Of the league of Cambray, and the consequence of it. Of pope Julius II, &c. 339

CHAP. XCIII.

The affairs of Lewis XII continued ; of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of Henry VIII, king of England. 349

CHAP.

The CONTENTS.

C H A P. XCIV.

*Of England and its misfortunes after invading
France. Of Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry
VI, &c.* 353

C H A P. XCV.

*Of Edward IV. Of Margaret of Anjou, and the
death of Henry VI.* 362

C H A P. XCVI.

*Continuation of the troubles of England under Ed-
ward IV, under the tyrant Richard III, and to
the end of the reign of Henry VII.* 366

C H A P. XCVII.

General idea of the sixteenth century. 375

A N
E S S A Y
O N
Universal History,

The MANNERS and SPIRIT of
N A T I O N S.



C H A P. XLVIII.

Of the East and Jenghiz-chan.

OUT of the ruins of the Caliphate a new empire arose on the other side of Persia, towards the Gihon and the Oxus. We call it Khourazm or Khorassan, from the corrupt name of its conquerors. The dominions of Mohammed the Khourazmian extended from the further end of Irac, or the antient Media, beyond the province of Sogdiana, and far up into the country of the Tartars. He had added to his territories a part of India, so that he was one of the most powerful monarchs in the world:

VOL. II.

B

but

but still he paid homage to the Caliph, whom he was stripping of his dominions, and who had nothing left but Bagdat.

Beyond the mounts Taurus and Caucasus, to the east of the Caspian sea, and of the Volga as far as China, and northward as far as the frigid zone, is stretched that immense tract of land, the country of the ancient Scythians, who were afterwards called Tatars, and whom we distinguish by the name of Tartars, from Tatarkan one of their greatest princes. This country seems to have been peopled time immemorial, without having any towns or cities. The people, like the Bedoween Arabians *, having imbibed from nature, a taste for liberty and a vagrant life, consider towns as prisons, where crowned heads confine their slaves.

Their continual incursions, their frugal manner of living, their moderate rest either in a tent, or a cart, or on the ground, has rendered them a hardy race, inured to fatigue, who in guise of wild beasts that multiply too fast, have roamed far from their dens; one time towards the Palus Mœotis, when they drove away the inhabitants of those countries, who in the fifth century, fell upon the Roman empire; another time to the east and south, towards Armenia and Persia; and another time towards China, and the Indies. Thus this vast reservoir of an ignorant but warlike race, has spread its inundations almost over

* The Bedoween Arabs were anciently called *Scenitæ*, because they lived in tents, from the Greek word *σκηνη*, a tent: there are numbers of these scattered all over Arabia; but chiefly in the mountains to the east of Mecca and Medina; and their trade is to rob caravans that are going to Mecca.

our whole hemisphere ; and the illiterate herd that now inhabit those deserts, know no more than that their ancestors were conquerors of the world.

Each horde or tribe had its chief, and several chiefs were united under a chan. The tribes near the Dailailamā adored him ; an adoration consisting chiefly in a small tribute : the others had no other worship than that of sacrificing a few animals once a year to the supreme being. It is not known that they ever offered up human victims to the Deity, or that they believed in such a mischievous spirit as the devil. The wants and occupations of a vagrant life prevented their falling into a great many superstitions, which are the offspring of idleness : they had no failings but such as are the necessary consequence of a savage manner of living ; and those very failings contributed to their conquests.

All we know with any degree of certainty concerning the grand revolution brought about by those Tartars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is that eastward of China the hordes of Monguls or Moguls, who have the best iron mines, manufactured that metal, which conquers those who are masters of every thing else. Cal-Chan or Gassar-Chan, the grandfather of Jenghiz-Chan, being at the head of those tribes, which are more warlike and better armed than the rest, compelled several of his neighbours to pay homage to him, and founded a kind of monarchy, such as may be supposed to exist among a vagrant nation impatient of subjection. His son, whom the Europeans call Pisouca, settled this rising empire ;

and Jenghiz-Chan at length extended it over the greatest part of the known world.

Between his dominions and China there was a powerful state, subject to a Chan, whose ancestors had renounced the vagrant life, and built themselves towns after the example of the Chinese. This Chan was even known in Europe; and is he who for some time went by the name of *Prester-John*. Some critics have pretended to prove that the right name is *Priest-John*, though there was no reason for calling him either *Prester* or *Priest*.

This however is certain, that the reputation of his capital was spread over all Asia, and had excited the cupidity of some Armenian merchants, who were of the ancient sect of Nestorius. Some of their monks set out along with them upon the journey, and in order to recommend themselves to the Christian princes, who at that time were waging war in Syria, they wrote word that they had converted this great Chan, who was the most powerful of all the Tartars; that they had christened him by the name of John, and that he had been even desirous of going into orders. This is the story that rendered the name of *Prester-John* so famous in the ancient chronicles of the Crusades. People went to look for *Prester-John* afterwards into Ethiopia, where they gave this name to a negro prince, who is half a schismatic, and half a Jew. In the mean time the Tartar *Prester-John* received a total overthrow from Jenghiz's army. The conqueror seized his dominions, and was chosen sovereign of all the Tartar Chans, by the title of *Jenghiz-Chan*, which signifies *king of kings*, or
the

the *great chan*. His former name was Temugin. It seems that the Tartar Chans had a custom of convoking their diets towards spring; which diets were called *Cour-ilté*. Who knows but those meetings, and the plenary courts of the Gauls in the month of March and May, are derived from the same original?

In this assembly Jenghiz-Chan decreed that they should believe in one God only, and persecute no man for his religion: a sure proof that his vassals were not all of one persuasion. Military discipline was strictly enforced: The officers all from the lowest subaltern to those who had the general command, were bound to daily duties: and those who did not take the field, were obliged to work one day in the week for the service of the great Chan. Adultery was prohibited with so much the more severity, as there was a toleration of polygamy. There remained but one district in Tartary, where the inhabitants were permitted to continue the practice of prostituting their women to travellers. Witchcraft was expressly prohibited upon pain of death. We have taken notice that Charlemaign punished it only by fines. But it follows from thence that the Germans, Franks, and Tartars, all believed alike in witchcraft. In this grand assembly of barbarous princes, Jenghiz-Chan had recourse to an artifice which has often succeeded. A prophet foretold that this prince should be sovereign of the universe; which was an encouragement to the vassals of the Grand Chan, to fulfil the prediction.

Jenghiz published a new law which was likely to transform his soldiers into heroes. He made it capital for any one whose assistance was called for in time of battle, to run away. Having quickly subdued the several countries situated betwixt the river Volga and the wall of China, at length he fell upon this ancient empire, which at that time was called Cathai. He took Cambalu, the capital of North Cathai; the very same city which now goes by the name of Pequin. After he had made himself master of half of China, he carried his victorious arms to the extremity of Corea.

One would hardly imagine, even were he to be accustomed to read the most romantic fictions, that a prince would set out from the further end of Corea, which is the eastern extremity of our globe, to wage war in Persia and India. And yet this is what Jenghiz-Chan performed.

The caliph of Bagdat, whose name was Nasser, imprudently called him to his assistance. At that time the caliphs were, as we have already observed, in the same condition; as the indolent kings of France under the tyranny of the mayors of the palace: the Turks were masters of the caliphs.

Sultan Mohammed of the race of the Khouarazmians, of whom we have lately made mention, was sovereign of almost all Persia; and Armenia, being in a weak condition, paid him tribute. The caliph Nasser, whom Mohammed wanted to strip of this shadow of dignity, invited Jenghiz-Chan into Persia.

The Tartar conqueror was at that time sixty years old: it seems he understood the art of government

vernment as well as the sword; and his life is a proof that there never was a great conqueror without being an able politician. A conqueror is a man who knows how to make a proper use of another's arm. Jenghiz's administration of the conquered part of China was so prudent, that it never revolted during his absence; and so perfectly did he understand how to rule his family, that his four sons, who were his lieutenant generals, placed their whole study and emulation in serving him, and contributing to his victories.

Our European battles appear like skirmishes, when compared to some of those engagements, which have embued the fields of Asia in blood. Sultan Mohammed marches against Jenghiz with an army of four hundred thousand men, beyond the river Jaxartes near the city of Otrara*: and in those spacious plains, which extend from that city to the forty second degree of latitude, he meets the Tartar army of seven hundred thousand men, commanded by Jenghiz and his four sons. The Mahometans were defeated and Otrar taken. At this siege they made use of a ram; a military engine which seems to be the natural invention of almost all nations, like the bow and arrow.

From that country which lies towards the Transoxana, the conqueror advances to Bucharra, a city celebrated over all Asia for its extensive commerce, its woollen manufactures, and especially for the sciences, which the Turkish

* A city of Turquestan, heretofore called Farah and Fariah. It is situated in lat. 49; watered by the river Schasch, at a small distance from Balassagoun.

sultans had learnt of the Arabians, and which flourished in Bochara and Samarcand. If we may give credit to the chan Abulgasi, to whom we are indebted for the history of the Tartars, *Bocar* signifies learned in the Tartar-Mongul language; and from this etymology, of which there does not remain the least vestige, comes the name of Bochara. The Tartars after plundering the town, reduced it to ashes; as Alexander had treated Persepolis. But the Orientals who wrote the history of Jenghiz-chan, say that he did it in revenge for the ill treatment of his ambassadors, whom the sultan had put to death before this war. If there is any excuse for Jenghiz, there can be none for Alexander.

All those vast countries to the east and south of the Caspian sea were subdued; and sultan Mohammed was obliged to fly from one province to another, carrying with him his treasure and his bad fortune, till at length he died abandoned by all the world. The victor penetrated as far as the river Indus; and while one army was employed in the conquest of Indostan, another under the command of his son subdued all the provinces to the south and west of the Caspian sea, viz. Khorassan, Irak, Shirvan, and Aran. They passed the iron gates, not far from whence the city of Derbent * is said to have been built by Alexander. This is the only pass on that side from the Upper Asia, across the rugged and inac-

* Latin authors call it *portæ Caucasæ* and *Pylæ Ibericæ*; the Turks give it the name of *Demir* or *Temir Capi*, which signifies an *iron gate*. It is the principal passage from Persia and the most southern provinces of Asia to Muscovy and the rest of the northern states of Asia and Europe.

cessible mount Caucasus. From thence this victorious army marched along the Volga towards Moscow, and ravaged all Russia; taking or killing a prodigious number of cattle and slaves. Loaded with this booty, they repassed the Volga, and returned to meet Jenghiz-chan by the north-east of the Caspian. No traveller, it is said, had ever been round that sea; and those troops were the first, that undertook such a tour, through uncultivated countries, impervious to any but Tartars, who wanted no tents, magazines, nor baggage, and who fed upon horse-flesh like that of other animals.

Thus one half of China, and the half of India, with almost all Persia as far as the Euphrates, the frontiers of Russia, Casan, Astracan, and all Great Tartary, were conquered by Jenghiz in about eighteen years. It is certain that this part of Tibet where the grand Lama reigns, was incorporated into his empire, and that the pontif was not molested by Jenghiz, who had a great many worshippers of that human idol in his armies. All conquerors have spared the supreme heads of religion, because they generally flatter their vanity, and the submission of the pontif is attended with that of the common people.

Returning from the Indies through Persia, and the ancient Sogdiana, he stopped in the town of Toncat to the north-east of the river Jaxartes, as the center of his vast empire. His sons, victorious on all sides, his generals, and tributary princes, brought him the treasures of Asia. He distributed largesses to his soldiers, who had been hitherto strangers to this kind of opulence.

Hence it is that the Russians to this very day frequently find ornaments of gold and silver, and other monuments of luxury buried under ground in the wilds of Tartary. These are the only vestiges of such numerous depredations.

In the plains of Toncat he held a triumphal court, where his magnificence equalled the martial preparations, with which he began his conquests. On this occasion there appeared a mixture of Tartar barbarism, and Asiatic luxury. All the chans and their vassals, the companions of his victories, were mounted on those ancient Scythian cars, the use of which subsists to this day among the Crim Tartars; and those cars were covered with costly stuffs, with the gold and diamonds of so many conquered nations. In this assembly one of Jenghiz's sons made his father a present of a hundred thousand horses. It was in those states-general of Asia that he received homage of above five hundred ambassadors, from the country called Tangut, on the frontiers of China. When he was near seventy years of age, he wanted to complete the conquest of this great empire, the favourite object of his ambition. But at length he was seized with a mortal illness in his camp, as he was upon his march, within a few leagues of the great wall. Never did man before nor since subdue more numerous nations. His conquests extended above eighteen hundred leagues from east to west, and upwards of a thousand from north to south. But this conqueror was a destroyer; for if we except Bochara and two or three more towns which he suffered to be rebuilt, his empire, from the frontier of Russia to that of China, was
one

one continued scene of desolation. China was less ransacked, because after the taking of Pequin, the rest of the provinces which he invaded, made no resistance. Before his death, he shared his dominions among his four sons, who were the most potent princes of the earth.

It is said that a great many men were sacrificed over his tomb, and that this usage was continued at the death of his successors, who reigned in Tartary. This is an ancient custom of the Scythian princes, which was lately discovered also among the negroes of Congo; a custom worthy of human barbarity. Some pretend that it was a point of honour among the domestics of the Tartar chans to die with them, and that they disputed with one another the honour of being interred with their masters. If this fanaticism was common; and if death was so trifling a thing to those people, they were formed for the conquest of the world. The admiration of the Tartars for Jengbiz-chan greatly increased, when he was no more: so that they imagined he was not born like other men, but that his mother had conceived him by the sole aid of a celestial influx; as if the rapidity of his conquests was not a sufficient prodigy. If such men are to have a supernatural father, we must suppose him to be a malignant being.

This conqueror's sons extended the dominions left them by their father. Ootai and soon after Coblai-chan, the son of Ootai, completed the conquest of China. It is this Coblai that Mark Paolo saw towards the year 1260, when he travelled with his brother and uncle into those countries, which were not even so much as known

at that time by name, and which he calls Cathai. This Mark Paolo is celebrated over all Europe for his travels into the territories subdued by Jenghiz-chan; but Europe soon forgot those territories and their conqueror.

It is true that pope Innocent IV sent some Franciscan friars into Tartary in the year 1246. Those friars, who stiled themselves ambassadors, saw but little, were treated with the greatest contempt, and did no manner of service.

So little were the Europeans acquainted with what passed in that vast part of the world, that an impostor, whose name was David, made St. Lewis when in Syria, believe he was deputed to wait on him by the great chan of Tartary, who had embraced Christianity: St. Lewis sent *Rubruquis* the monk into those countries in 1258, to inquire about the matter. By the relation of *Rubruquis* it appears, that he was introduced to the grandson of Jenghiz-chan, who reigned in China. But what instructions could we expect from a monk, who travelled among a people whose language he did not understand, and who was not capable of making a right judgment of what he did see? All that he brought back with him after his travels, was only a great many false notions, and a few truths of no consequence.

Thus, at the same time that the Christian princes and lords were bathing the kingdom of Naples, Greece, Syria, and Egypt, with human blood, Asia was over-run by the Tartars: so that almost our whole hemisphere was ravaged at the same period.

Jenghiz

Jenghiz availed himself of the right which the oriental princes have always claimed, a right similar to that of fathers of families in the Roman law, of chusing their heirs, and dividing their estates among the children without regard to seniority. He appointed his third son Oçtay great chan of Tartary, whose posterity reigned in the north of China till towards the middle of the fourteenth century. The Tartars were introduced into that country by force of arms; and expelled from thence by religious quarrels. The priests called Lamas wanted to exterminate the Bonzes; and these stirred up the people. The princes of the Chinese race took advantage of this ecclesiastic dispute, and at length drove out their masters, whom plenty and indolence had enervated.

Another son of Jenghiz-chan, whose name was Touchi, had Turquestan, Baëtriana, the kingdom of Astracan, and the country of the Usbecks. The son of this Touchi penetrated as far as Poland, Dalmatia, Hungary, and even to the gates of Constantinople. He was called Batoucan. The princes of Crim Tartary are descended from him by the male line; and the Usbeck chans, who are now settled in proper Tartary to the north and east of the Caspian sea, refer their original also to the same source. They are masters of North Baëtriana; but they lead only a vagrant life in that fine country, which they have turned into a desert.

Tuti, or Tuli, the other son of Jenghiz, had Persia in his father's life-time. The son of this Tuti, whose name was Houlacou, passed the Euphrates, which Jenghiz-chan never did. He
sub-

subverted the empire of the caliphs in Bagdat, and made himself master of part of Asia Minor or Natolia, while the natural lords of that fruitful part of the Greek empire were driven from their capital by the Christian crusaders.

A fourth son, named Zagatai, had Transoxana, Candahor, the north part of India, Cachemir, and Tibet: and the descendants of those four monarchs maintained for some time their empires, which had been founded in plunder.

Charlemagne has been blamed for dividing his dominions among his children; but Jenghiz-chan ought to be commended. The dominions of Charlemagne were contiguous to each other, had nearly the same laws, the same religion, and might be governed by one prince. Those of Jenghiz-chan, being much more extensive, intersected by deserts, and divided into different religions, could never be long swayed by the same sovereign.

This vast power of the Mogul Tartars, which had been founded about the year 1220, was weakened on every side; when Tamerlane, above a century later, erected an universal monarchy in Asia, which was also divided into different branches.

Let us return now to the west, and see what passed in Europe during the 13th century.

C H A P. XLIX.

*Of Charles of Anjou, king of the two Sicilies ;
and of the Sicilian Vespers.*

WHILE the great revolution of the Tartars was in its course ; while the sons and grandsons of Jenghiz-chan were sharing the greatest part of the known world ; while the crusades were still continuing, and St. Lewis unfortunately preparing for his last expedition, the imperial house of Swabia came to be extinct in a most extraordinary manner : the remainder of this illustrious blood was spilt on the scaffold.

The emperor Frederick II. had been at the same time sovereign, vassal, and enemy of the popes : and he paid them homage for Naples and Sicily. His son, the emperor Conrad, obtained possession of those kingdoms. Every author I have read, assures us, that this Conrad was poisoned by his brother Manfred, Frederick's natural son : but I do not see that any of them gives the slightest proof of it. Manfred got possession of these kingdoms, which of right belonged to his nephew Conradin, son of Conrad, and grandson of Frederick II. The pope as lord paramount seemed to have a right to punish Manfred : but had he any right to dispossess an usurper, only in order to strip an orphan who was the lawful heir ? Right, however, appeared on the side of interest. The popes hated, and at the same time were afraid of this family : the business was therefore only to find out a prince, who in receiving the investiture of Naples and Sicily, was
also

also able to conquer those kingdoms. Charles, count of Anjou, offered his service to the pope, who soon struck a bargain with him, though he had promised the investiture to others.

This count of Anjou was already possessed of Provence in right of his wife; and what made a great addition to his power, was his having subdued the city of Marseilles. He had likewise a dignity, which a man of abilities might convert to his advantage, namely, his being the only senator of Rome. Pope Urban IV was afraid of this
 1264. prince, even when he called him to his assistance; so that he granted him the investiture, on condition that he should renounce this dignity at the end of three years, and pay three thousand ounces of gold every year for the feudal dependance of the kingdom of Naples; and that if the payment happened ever to be above two months behind hand, he should be excommunicated. Charles easily agreed to these and to all other conditions: and the pope granted him the tenth penny on the
 1266. ecclesiastical revenues in France. He set out with troops and money, was crowned at Rome, and gave battle to Manfred in the plains of Benevento, where he gained a compleat victory, Manfred being killed in the engagement. Charles behaved with great severity after this success, and seemed to have been as cruel, as his brother St. Lewis was humane.

In the mean time young Conradin, the right heir of the kingdom of Naples, was in Germany during the interregnum, which laid that country waste; and while they were stripping him of the kingdom of Naples, his adherents encouraged him to come and defend his inheritance. He
 was

was then only fifteen years old ; but his courage was superior to his age. He put himself at the head of an army, in company with the duke of Austria his kinsman, to support his rights. The Romans were for him ; so that Conradin, though excommunicated, was received at Rome with the acclamations of the whole people, at the very time that the pope durst not approach his own capital. 1268.

It may be truly said, that of all the wars in this century, Conradin's was the most just ; and yet it proved the most unfortunate. The pope published a crusade against him, as well as against the Turks ; in consequence of which he was defeated and taken prisoner in Apulia, together with his kinsman Frederick, duke of Austria. Charles of Anjou ought to have honoured them for their courage ; but instead of that, he caused them to be condemned by the civil magistrate. 1288. The sentence passed upon them was, that they merited death for taking up arms against the church : and accordingly these two unhappy princes were put to death at Naples by the hands of the public executioner. Pope Clement IV, to whose resentment they seemed to have fallen a sacrifice, durst not approve of this barbarity ; a barbarity so much the more detestable, as it was attended with the forms of justice. I cannot help being surprized, that St. Lewis never reproved his brother for so base and cruel an action : he whom the Egyptians had spared under a less favourable situation, should surely have condemned the cruelty of Charles of Anjou. The conqueror, instead of honouring the Neapolitans, exasperated them greatly by his oppression ; so that

that both he and his whole nation were held in the utmost horror.

It is the general opinion, that a Sicilian gentleman, whose name was John of Procida, disguised in the habit of a Franciscan friar, laid that famous conspiracy, by which every Frenchman in the island was to be massacred at the same hour on Easter Sunday, upon ringing the bell for *vespers* *. It is certain, that this John of Procida had prepared the minds of the people in Sicily for a revolution; that he had been negotiating at Constantinople and in the kingdom of Arragon; and that Peter, king of Arragon, Manfred's son-in-law, had entered into an alliance with the Greek emperor against Charles of Anjou: but it is not at all probable, that the *Sicilian vespers* was a premeditated conspiracy. If there had been any plot formed, it would have been executed chiefly in the kingdom of Naples; and yet not one Frenchman was killed there. Malaspina relates, that a native of Provence, named Droguet, was
 1182. committing a rape upon a woman in Palermo, at the time that the people were going to vespers: the woman cried out; the people flocked to her assistance, and killed the Frenchman. This first emotion of private revenge awakened the general hatred: the Sicilians, excited by John of Procida, and by their own animosity, immediately cried out, that it was necessary to destroy the enemy; upon which they put every Frenchman they found in Palermo to the sword. The same rage and fury which possessed the breasts of all the natives, produced the same massacre throughout the

* *Vespers* is the evening service in the church of Rome.

whole island. It is said, that they ripped open the bellies of pregnant women, to pluck out the foetus's as yet unformed; and that the very monks murdered their female penitents of the French nation. It is moreover affirmed, that only one gentleman of Provence, whose name was des Porcellets, escaped the general slaughter. And yet it is very certain, that the governor of Messina, with all his garrison, withdrew from the island into the kingdom of Naples.

The blood of Conradin was thus revenged, but not upon those who had spilt it. The Sicilian vespers only brought new misfortunes upon those people, whose happy climate seemed to have been designed rather as a curse than a blessing to them. But it is now time to return back a little, and to see what new calamities were produced in this same century by the abuse of the crusades, and the mistaken zeal of religion.



C H A P. L.

Of the Crusade against the Albigenes.

THE bloody quarrels betwixt the empire and the priesthood, the opulence of religious houses, and the abuse which so many prelates had made of their temporal power; all this together must sooner or later have exasperated mankind, and inspired them with a desire of independence. Arnold of Brescia had ventured to stir up even the people of Rome to shake off the yoke. They began to reason a good deal in Europe towards
the

the twelfth century, concerning religion. There were men at that time who would have no other law but the gospel, and who preached up very near the same doctrine as that now held by the Protestants. They were called *Vaudois*, because of the great number of them in the valleys of Piedmont; *Albigenses*, from the city of Alby; *good people*, because of the regularity of life which they affected; and in fine *Manicheans*, which was a general name then given to heretics. To the surprize of every body, the province of Languedoc, towards the end of the twelfth century, seemed to be filled with these people.

In the year 1198, pope Innocent III. deputed two Cistercian monks to try the heretics: "We command, said he, the princes, counts, and all the lords of your province, to assist you with all their might against the heretics, by the authority they have received for the punishment of evil doers: so that after brother Rainier shall have pronounced sentence of excommunication against them, the lords are to confiscate their goods, to banish them from their estates, and to punish them with still greater severity, if they dare to resist. Now we have given power to brother Rainier, of obliging the lords to comply with these our orders, by excommunication, and by an interdict upon their estates, &c." This was the first foundation, or origin of the inquisition.

An abbot of Citeaux was afterwards nominated, in conjunction with other monks, to go and execute this office at Toulouse, which should have been done by the bishop. This proceeding provoked

provoked the count of Toulouse, the count of Foix, and all the lords of the country, who had been already seduced by the reformers, and exasperated against the court of Rome.

This sect consisted chiefly of burghers, reduced to indigence by the long slavery from which they had been scarce freed, and likewise by the crusades. The abbot of Citeaux appeared in the equipage of a prince; and in vain assumed the character of an apostle. While he was preaching to the people, they cried out, *either lay aside your pomp, or your sermon*. A Spanish bishop of Osma, a very honest man, who was then at Toulouse, advised the inquisitors to lay down their sumptuous equipages, to walk on foot, to live in an austere manner, and to imitate the frugal simplicity of the Albigenses, in order to convert them. Saint Dominick, who had accompanied this bishop, joined with him in setting the example of this apostolic life, and seemed at that time to wish that no other weapon should be employed against error. But Peter of Castelneau, one of the inquisitors, was accused of having made use of those arms, which suited his character, viz. of privately exciting some of the neighbouring lords against the count of Toulouse, and fomenting a civil war. This inquisitor was as-¹²⁰⁷sassinated; and the suspicion fell upon the count of Toulouse.

Pope Innocent III. did not scruple to discharge the subjects of the count of Toulouse from their oath of allegiance. Thus they treated the descendants of that Raymond of Toulouse, who had been the first in serving the Christian cause in the expedition of the crusades.

The

1209. The count being sensible of the effect which a bull was likely to produce, submitted to the satisfaction required of him. One of the pope's legates, named Milon, orders him to wait upon him at Valence, to deliver up seven castles which he was possessed of in Provence, to perform a crusade against the Albigenes his subjects, and to do public penance. The count accordingly obeyed in every article.

The scene was now opened: on the one side appeared the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, Simon count of Montfort, and the bishops of Sens, Autun, and Nevers, at the head of their troops, with the unfortunate count of Toulouse in the midst of them, in the nature of an hostage: on the other there was nothing to be seen but a multitude of poor people, who had the misfortune of being incited by a religious fanaticism. The city of Beziers attempting to hold out against the crusaders, was taken by storm; the inhabitants having fled for refuge to a church, were all put to the sword, and the town was reduced to ashes. The people of Carcassone, intimidated by this example, submitted to the mercy of the conqueror: upon which their lives were spared, they were permitted to quit the town almost naked, and their goods were confiscated.

The title of *Machabee*, and *Defender of the church*, was conferred on count Simon of Montfort; who made himself master of a great part of the country, by seizing the castles of the suspected lords, by attacking those which were not put into his hands, and by pursuing such heretics as ventured to defend themselves. It is

related by eccleſiaſtic hiſtorians, that upon Simon of Montfort's ſetting fire to the faggots deſigned for the execution of theſe unhappy wretches, a hundred and forty of them began to ſing pſalms, and then flung themſelves into the flames. By thus depopulating Languedoc, they diſtreſſed the count of Toulouſe, who all this while made no defence but by his negotiations. He repaired to St. Giles, to make his court to the legates, biſhops, and abbots, who were at the head of this cruſade; and he wept bitterly in their preſence. They told him that his tears proceeded from fury and deſpair; and the legate gave him his option, either to reſign to Simon of Montfort all the lands which this count had uſurped, or to be excommunicated. The count of Toulouſe had, however, the courage to chuſe the laſt, and fled for refuge to his brother-in-law Peter II. king of Arragon, who undertook his defence, having almoſt as much reaſon as the count himſelf to complain of the chief or leader of this cruſade.

In the mean time the number of cruſaders increaſed, from the avidity of gaining indulgences and riches. The biſhops of Paris, Liſieux, and Bayeux, repaired to the ſiege of Lavaur; where fourſcore knights, together with the lord of this town, were taken priſoners, and condemned to be hanged; but the gibbet being broke down, they were given up to the fury of this religious ſoldiery, who put them all to the ſword. The ſiſter of the lord of Lavaur was thrown into a well, round which they burnt three hundred inhabitants who reſuſed to abjure their opinions.

Prince Lewis, who was afterwards king Lewis VIII. joined indeed with these crusaders, in order to get a share of the spoils; but Simon of Montfort soon got rid of a companion who would have been his master.

It was the interest of the popes to grant this country to Montfort; and the scheme of settling it upon him was so well laid, that the king of Arragon, with all his mediation, could not obtain the least concession in favour of his brother-in-law. He seemed therefore to have recourse to arms, only when every other method had proved unsuccessful.

1213. The battle which this prince fought against the crusaders in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, and in which he himself was slain, was reckoned a most extraordinary affair. It is related by a multitude of writers, that Simon of Montfort, with only eight hundred horse and one thousand foot, attacked the army commanded by the king of Arragon and the count of Toulouse, who had then laid siege to Muret. They mention also, that the king of Arragon had one hundred thousand fighting men, and that there never was a more complete overthrow. In fine they say, that Simon of Montfort, the bishop of Toulouse, and the bishop of Cominge, divided their army into three bodies, in honour of the holy Trinity.

But is it at all likely, that only 1800 men would attack an army of 100,000 in the open field, and divide themselves into three bodies? It is a miracle, some writers will say: but military people upon reading such a story, will tell them it is nonsense and absurdity.

After

After this victory, the pope held a general council at Rome, whither the count of Toulouſe went to ſue for pardon. I cannot diſcover what foundation he had for hoping that his territories ſhould be reſtored to him: he came off very well in not being deprived of his liberty; the council even reckoned it an act of clemency, to order he ſhould be allowed a penſion of four hundred marks of ſilver.

Upon the death of Innocent III, Raymond of Toulouſe did not meet with milder treatment; for he was beſieged in his capital by Simon of ^{1213.} Montfort. This man, who had done ſo much miſchief, and acquired ſo much glory, was wounded here by a ſtone; which put an end to his ſucceſs, and to his life.

He left a ſon behind him, on whom the pope conferred all the rights and privileges of the father; but he could not give him the ſame reputation: and from that time the cruſade againſt Languedoc began to decline. The ſon of old Raymond, who had ſucceeded his father, was, like him, alſo excommunicated. Lewis VIII, king of France, obtained a renunciation from young Montfort of all thoſe territories, which he was not able to keep: but death put a ſtop to Lewis in the miſt of his conqueſts; and this country did not come under the power of the kings of France till the reign of Philip the Bold.

The popes divided the ſpoils. The young count of Toulouſe was obliged to cede to them in 1222 the county of Venaſſin, which included five ſmall towns. It was his aſylum, and a ſief of the empire, as were all the lands on the other ſide of the Rhone. We could have wiſhed that

the right of the holy see to this small territory had not been of so odious a nature, nor purchased by blood. The good understanding betwixt the court of France and pope Gregory IX stripped the house of Toulouse of the remainder of her inheritance, which she had been in possession of since the reign of Charlemagne : and the misunderstanding between the emperor Frederic II and that same Gregory IX, was the means of restoring this small territory again to the count of Toulouse. The emperor, as lord paramount, and a lord paramount that had been grossly affronted, did justice. When Philip the Bold, king of France, took possession afterwards of the great county of Toulouse, he restored the county of Venaissin to the pope, who has preserve it ever since by the generosity of the French monarchs. The city and territory of Avignon were not included. This inheritance fell to the branch of Anjou, which reigned at Naples, and in whose hands it continued, till the unfortunate queen Joan of Naples transferred it at length in perpetuity to the see of Rome.

1234.

During the reign of St. Lewis, the pope sent two Dominicans and a Franciscan friar, with the title of inquisitors, into the country of the Albigenses, who were then very quiet. The two Dominicans rendered themselves so extremely odious, that the people drove them out of the town. Rome itself was for a long time obliged to suspend the inquisition ; but at length it was established. Yet this sect still subsisted, though confined to a few weak people, who lived in obscurity.

It

It was this sect that brought the scourge of the inquisition upon Europe. Pope Innocent IV erected this court all over Italy, excepting the kingdom of Naples, as a new tribunal, by which the authority of the holy see was to be fully established. We shall see in the course of this work what cruelties have been committed by this court in Spain, and in Portugal.



C H A P. LI.

State of Europe in the thirteenth century.

WE have seen how the crusades exhausted Europe of men and money, without improving society. Germany had been in a downright anarchy ever since the death of Frederic II. The several great lords had appropriated to themselves the public revenue of the empire; so that when Rodolphus of Habsburg was elected emperor in 1273, they would grant him no other troops but those, with which he had wrested Austria from Ottocares, who had taken it from the house of Bavaria.

It was during the interregnum that preceded the election of Rodolphus, that Denmark, Poland, and Hungary, got intirely rid of the small tribute or duty which they paid to the emperor.

But it was also at this same period that several cities established their municipal government, which still subsists. They entered into an alliance to defend themselves against the encroach-

ments of the great lords. The Hanse towns *, as Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, Dantzick, to which four-and-twenty more acceded afterwards, formed a commercial republic, dispersed among different states. The Austregues † were established; these are conventional arbitrators between the princes and nobility, as well as the Imperial towns: they supply the place of the courts and laws that were wanting in Germany.

Italy was settled upon a new plan of government before, and during the reign of Rodolphus. Several of the towns asserted their freedom, which he confirmed for pecuniary considerations. It seems as if Italy might at that time have been intirely separated from Germany.

The German lords, in order to increase their power, were desirous of having a weak emperor. The four temporal princes, and the three archbishops, who by degrees engrossed the right of election intirely to themselves, had, in concert with some others, agreed to chuse Rodolphus of Habzburg for their emperor, merely because he had no extensive dominions. He was a Swiss lord, who had made himself formidable, as one of those chiefs to whom the Italians give the name of *Con-*

* The Hanse-towns are said to be so called from the word *Hanſe*, which signifies *alliance*: others derive it from the German word *Aanzee*, which signifies *near the sea*, because the first towns that entered into this society were situated near the Baltic and the Ocean. It is said that the city of Bremen, on the Weser, in Lower Saxony, was the first that began to form this alliance, towards the year 1164, in order to encourage the commerce, which her inhabitants carried on with Livonia.

† The Austregues subsist to this very day; so that the cause of no prince whatever can be brought into the courts of the empire, before it has passed through this first instance.

dottieri *. He had been long a champion to the abbot of St. Gal, against the bishop of Basil, in a quarrel about some tuns of wine : he had likewise assisted the town of Strasburg. So great was the disproportion between his fortune and courage, that he had been for some time steward to that same Ottocares king of Bohemia, who, upon his pressing him afterwards to yield homage, made answer, *That he owed him nothing ; for he had paid him his wages.* Little did the princes of Germany foresee, that this same Rodolphus would be the founder of a family, the most flourishing in Europe, and which has been more than once very near attaining the same height in power as Charlemaign. This power was long a forming ; particularly towards the end of this thirteenth century, and the beginning of the fourteenth, the empire had no manner of influence in Europe.

Happy would France have been under such a sovereign as St. Lewis, were it not for the fatal prejudice of the crusades, which occasioned so many misfortunes to the nation, and laid him dead on the sands of Africa. By the great number of vessels fitted out for those unfortunate expeditions, it appears that France might easily have established an extensive commerce. The statutes of St. Lewis relative to trade, his establishing a new police in Paris, his pragmatic sanction which secured the discipline of the Gallican church, his four bailiwicks, to whose jurisdiction the courts of his vassals were subject, and which are the origin of the parliament of Paris, his regulations and ex-

* An Italian word, signifying a leader.

actness in regard to the coin, all together shews that France might have been rendered at that time a flourishing kingdom.

In regard to England it enjoyed as much happiness under Edward I as the manners of the time would permit. This prince united Wales to his dominions, and subdued Scotland, which received a king of his appointing. It is true the English were no longer possessed of Normandy nor Anjou; but they had almost all Guienne. If Edward I had only a cursory war with France, it was owing to his being so much employed at home, either when he subdued, or when he was dispossessed of Scotland.

We shall give a separate and more copious article to Spain, which we left long time since a prey to the Saracens. There remains only that we mention a word or two concerning Rome.

The popedom continued towards the thirteenth century in the same state in which it had been for many years. The popes were not well settled in Rome, had only a tottering authority in Italy, were hardly masters of a few towns in the patrimony of St. Peter, and in Umbria; still they continued to bestow kingdoms, and to be the umpires of kings.

In 1289 pope Nicholas solemnly determined at Rome the disputes between the king of Portugal and his clergy. We have seen how in 1283 pope Martin IV deposed the king of Arragon, and gave away his territories to the king of France, who was not powerful enough to execute the pope's bull. Boniface VIII gave Sardinia and Corsica

Corfica to another king of Arragon, to James furnished the Just.

Towards the year 1300, when a contest arose concerning the succession to the kingdom of Scotland, pope Boniface VIII wrote thus to king Edward: "You ought to know that it is my place
" to appoint a king of Scotland, which has al-
" ways in full right belonged, and still belong-
" eth to the see of Rome: but if you pretend
" to have any right thereto, I desire you would
" send your agents or proctors to us, and we
" will do you justice; for we reserve this affair
" to ourselves."

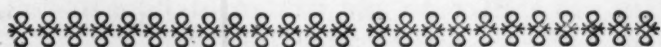
Towards the end of the thirteenth century, when some princes of Germany deposed Adolphus of Nassau, successor to the first prince of the house of Austria, and elected Albert of Austria, Rodolphus's son, they trumped up the pope's bull for deposing Nassau, which was indeed transferring their own power to the pope. This same Boniface, upon the news of Albert's election, writes thus to the electors: "We order you to proclaim ^{1293.}
" publicly, that Albert, who calls himself king
" of the Romans, shall come and appear before
" us, to answer to the charge of high treason,
" and of excommunication incurred."

It is very well known, that Albert of Austria instead of appearing to this summons, defeated and killed Nassau in a battle fought in the neighbourhood of Spire; and that Boniface, after having been so profuse of his excommunications against that prince, was as liberal of his benedictions to him in 1303, when the holy father stood in need of his assistance, in the contest between him and Philip the Fair. Then, by the plenitude

of his power he supplied the irregularity of Albert's election; and in his bull he confers upon him the kingdom of France, which by right belonged to the emperors. Such a change does interest make in man's behaviour, employing every means, sacred or profane, to attain its end.

But other crowned heads tamely submitted to the papal jurisdiction. Mary queen of Naples, and pretender to the kingdom of Hungary, had her cause tried before the pope and his cardinals; and the pope adjudged the kingdom to this princess, by default, or for want of the other party's appearing in court. Nothing more was requisite for putting this sentence in execution, but an army.

France, as we shall see presently, did not pay the same deference to Boniface VIII. It is very well known that this pontif instituted the Jubilee, and added a second crown to the pontifical tiara, to signify the two powers. John XXII topped them afterwards with a third. But John had not two naked swords carried before him, as Boniface had when he granted indulgences.



C H A P. LII.

Of Spain, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

AFTER the Cid had driven the Mussulmen out of Toledo and Valentia, towards the end of the eleventh century, Spain was divided into several governments. The kingdom of Castile included the two Castiles, Leon, Galicia,

cia, and Valentia. The kingdom of Arragon was at that time reunited to Navarre. Andalusia, part of Murcia, and Granada, belonged to the Moors. Barcelona was subject to its own count, who paid homage to the king of Arragon. A third part of Portugal was under a Christian government.

This third part of Portugal was only an earldom. The son of a duke of Burgundy, descended from Hugh Capet, had made himself master of that province at the latter end of the twelfth century.

A crusade would have been more likely to drive the Mahometans out of Spain than Syria: in all probability the Christian princes of Spain did not approve of such dangerous succours; but chose rather to harass their country themselves, and dispute it with the Moors, than to see it invaded by crusaders.

Alfonso, surnamed the *Warriour*, king of Arragon and Navarre, drove the Moors out of Saragossa, which became the capital of Arragon, and returned no more under the dominion of the Mussulmen. 1139.

The son of count Henry, whom I call Alfonso of Portugal, to distinguish him from so many other princes of that name, expelled the Moors from Lisbon, the best port in Europe, and from all Portugal, but not from the province of Algarves. He gained several battles, and was at length crowned king of Portugal. Pope Alexander III pretended it was he that gave him the crown: he insisted also on his paying him a tribute of six marks of gold; and the king submitted to it, knowing that in quarrels among so many Span- 1160.

nish sovereigns, the papal suffrage was always able to turn the scales.

Had the Christians but exerted themselves a little more, the Mahometans would have been driven out of this country; but union was wanting, and the Spanish princes were ever at variance. One time Castile and Arragon were up in arms; another time Navarre was fighting against Arragon; sometimes these three provinces waged war against one another, all at the same time; and each of them was often rent by intestine commotions. There were three kings of Arragon in succession, who joined the greatest part of Navarre to that kingdom, while the remainder was occupied by the Moors. Alfonso the *Warriour*, who died in 1134, was the last of those princes. We may form a judgment of the spirit of the times, and of the badness of the government, by the will of that monarch, who left his kingdoms to the knights templars, and the hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. This was establishing civil war by a testamentary disposition. By good luck those knights did not attempt to support the will. The states of Arragon, continuing to be free, chose for their king don Raymir, brother of their deceased sovereign, though he had been a monk upwards of forty years, and for some time a bishop. He was called the *Priestly king*, and the pope granted him a dispensation to marry.

1134. During these transactions Navarre was divided from Arragon, and became once more a separate kingdom, which devolved afterwards, by marriage, on the counts of Champagne, and belonged to Philip the Fair, and the house of France;

France; till it fell at length to the families of Foix and Albret, and is now absorbed in the Spanish monarchy.

Mean while the Moors maintained their ^{1158.} ground, and retook Valentia. Their incursions gave rise to the order of Calatrava. The Cistercian monks of Calatrava, having sufficient revenues to defray the expence of defending that city, armed some of their lay-brothers *, together with several esquires, who fought against the Moors with a Scapulary † over their shoulders. Soon after was formed this order, which is neither military nor religious; the knights of which are permitted once to marry; and which consists only in the enjoyment of several Commanderies ‡ in Spain.

The Christians still continued to quarrel; and the Mahometans sometimes took advantage of those quarrels. Towards the year 1197, a king of Navarre, whose name was don Sancho, being persecuted by the Castilians and the Arragonians, was forced to go over to Africa, to implore the assistance of the *Miramolin* of the empire of Morocco; but this step, which seemed likely to produce a revolution, had no such effect.

* *Lay-brothers* in the church of Rome are persons that make the monastic vows, but do not enter into holy orders.

† The *Scapulary* is a part of the habit of several religious orders in the church of Rome, worn over the gown: it consists of two narrow slips of cloth or serge, covering the back and the breast, and hanging down to the feet.

‡ A *Commandery* is a sort of benefice, or certain revenue, belonging to a military order, and conferred on ancient knights, who had done services to the order, as the commanderies of Malta.

Heretofore, when all Spain was united under king Roderick, a brave, though perhaps incontinent prince, it was subdued in less than two years: and now that it was divided into so many jealous principalities, neither the Miramolins of Africa, nor the Moorish king of Andalusia, could make any impression on it. The reason is, the Spaniards were grown more warlike, the country was thick set with fortresses, the princes would unite in case of any great danger, and in a word the Mahometans were not more prudent than the Christians.

1200. At length all the Christian princes of Spain entered into an alliance, to oppose the forces that were ready to fall upon them from Africa.

The Miramolin Mahomed-Ben-Joseph had crossed the sea with near an hundred thousand men, and having reinforced his army with the Moors of Andalusia, he reckoned he should be able to conquer Spain. The report of this great armament awakened the attention of some French knights. The common danger united the kings of Castile, Arragon, and Navarre. Portugal furnished troops.

1212. Those two great armies met each other in the defiles of the black mountain *, on the confines of Andalusia, and the province of Toledo. The archbishop of Toledo was with the king of Castile Alfonso the Noble, and carried the standard of the cross at the head of the troops. The Miramolin held a sabre in one hand, and the Koran in the other. The Christians were victorious; and this day is solemnized every year at Toledo on the 16th of July: but the victory was pre-

* La Sierra Morena.

ductive of more glory than real advantage. The Moors of Andalusia were strengthened with the remains of the African army, while the Christian forces were soon disbanded.

In those days it was the custom for almost all the knights that bore arms, to return to their respective homes after a battle. They knew how to fight, but they did not understand the art of war; and the Moors were less skilled in it than the Spaniards. Neither Christians nor Mussulmen had any standing armies.

Spain had been so engaged in her own unhappy affairs for the space of five hundred years, that she did not begin to concern herself with the rest of Europe, till the time of the Albigenses. We have seen how Peter I, king of Arragon, was obliged to assist his vassals of Languedoc and the country of Foix, who were oppressed under the pretence of religion; and how he died fighting against Montfort, who had robbed his son, and conquered Languedoc. His widow Maria of Montpellier, who had retired to Rome, pleaded this son's cause before Innocent III, and beseeched him to interpose his authority, that he might be set at liberty. Some conjunctures have done great honour to the court of Rome. The pope or-^{1214.}dered Simon of Montfort to restore the child to the Arragonians; and Montfort restored him. If the popes had always made such use of their authority, they would have been the legislators of the universe.

This is the very king James, the first of the kings of Arragon, to whom the states took the oath of allegiance. It is he that expelled the Moors out of the isle of Majorca; it is he that dis-

1238. dispossessed them of the beautiful kingdom of Valentia, a country favoured by nature, where the natives are strong, healthful, and robust, and every thing conspires to please the senses. I am surprized how such a number of historians could say, that Valentia was only a thousand paces in circumference, and yet that no less than fifty thousand Mahometans marched out of that city. How was it possible for so small a place to contain such a number of inhabitants?

- This period seemed to be destined for the glory of Spain, and the expulsion of the Moors. Ferdinand III, king of Castile and Arragon, dispossessed them of the famous city of Cordova, the residence of their first kings, a city far superior to Valentia; and where they had built a most magnificent mosque, besides a multitude of fine palaces.

- This same Ferdinand III subdued also the Moors of Murcia; a small but fruitful country, in which they bred a vast number of silk worms, and had very good silk manufactures. At length, after a siege of six months, he made himself master of Seville, the most opulent city belonging to the Mahometans, and which they never recovered afterwards. Death put an end to his prosperities. If an apotheosis be due to those who have delivered their country from slavery, Spain surely has as much reason to revere the memory of Ferdinand, as France to invoke St. Lewis. He enacted wise laws, like this king of France; and like him also, he established new courts of judicature. He is said to have erected the royal council of Castile, which has subsisted every since.

His

His minister was Ximenez, archbishop of To-^{ledo} 1252. a fortunate name to Spain, but no way related to that other Ximenez, who, some time after, was regent of Castile.

Castile and Arragon were powerful states about this period; but we must not imagine that their sovereigns were absolute; there was not one absolute prince in Europe. The Spanish lords reduced the authority of their kings to narrower bounds than those of any other sovereign. The Arragonians still remember the formula of the inauguration of their kings. The grand justiciary pronounced the following words in the name of the states: *Nos que valemos tanto como vos, os hacemos nuestro rey y senor; con tal que guardéis nuestros fueros, se no, no. We, who are as good as you, do constitute you our king, provided you keep our laws, otherwise not.*

The grand justiciary pretended that this was not an empty ceremony, but that he had a right to prosecute the king for any crime in the presence of the states, and to preside in court upon pronouncing his sentence. I do not however find that this privilege was ever made use of.

Castile enjoyed as many privileges as Arragon, and the states set the same limits to the supreme power. In short, it is reasonable to think, that in countries abounding with such numerous nobility, it was as difficult for the kings to enslave their subjects, as to expel the Moors.

Alfonso, surnamed the Astronomer, or the Wise, son of St. Ferdinand, experienced the truth of this maxim. It was said of him, that while he was busy in the study of the heavens, he had forgot

got the earth. This trivial reflexion would be just, had Alfonso neglected his affairs for study ; but this he never did. The same good understanding which raised him to be a great philosopher, made him likewise a very good king. Several writers charge him with atheism, for saying, *that had he been of GOD's privy council, he would have given him advice in regard to the motions of the stars.* These writers do not consider, that this jest, of so sage a philosopher, was levelled intirely at Ptolemy's system, with whose insufficiency and absurdities he was thoroughly acquainted. He was a rival to the Arabians in science ; and the university of Salamanca, which was founded by his father, had not his equal. The Alfonsine tables are still a monument of his glory, to the shame of princes, who take a pride in being ignorant ; but we must likewise acknowledge, that they were drawn up by Arabians.

The difficulties which embarrassed his reign, were not surely a consequence of the sciences, which immortalized Alfonso's name, but of the vast expences of his father. For as St. Lewis had exhausted France by his voyages, so Ferdinand had for some time ruined Castile, even by his acquisitions, which at that time cost more than they were worth.

After the death of St. Ferdinand, his son was obliged to withstand Navarre and Arragon, which were grown jealous of his power.

Yet all these broils which entangled this royal philosopher, did not hinder the princes of the empire from offering him the Imperial crown : and the reason of his not being raised to that dignity, when Rodolphus of Habsburg was elected
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in his stead, was the great distance betwixt Castile and Germany. Alfonso shewed at least that he merited the Imperial diadem, by his manner of governing Castile. His Code, called *Las partidas* *, is still one of the foundations of Spanish jurisprudence.

He lived to see his son Sancho III rebel a-¹²⁸³gainst him in his old age : but the iniquity of the son is not, I think, any disgrace to the father.

This don Sancho was by a second wife, and wanted, in his father's life-time, to be declared heir to the crown, to the prejudice of the grandchildren by the first venter. A factious assembly, who pretended to be the states, gave him the crown. This outrage is a further proof of what I have often affirmed, that there were no laws about this time in Europe, but that all things were determined according to occasional considerations, and to human caprice.

Alfonso the Wise was reduced to the hard necessity of entering into a league with the Mahometans against his son and rebellious Christians. This was not the first alliance of the kind, but it was surely the most just.

The Miramolin of Morocco, at the invitation of king Alfonso X, crossed the sea. The African and Castilian monarchs met at Zara on the confines of Granada. The behaviour and discourse of the Miramolin, ought to be perpetuated in history. Having yielded the most honourable place to the king of Castile, *I treat you thus*, says he; *because you are unfortunate ; and I join my*

* This is a collection of old Spanish laws, so called because they are divided into heads and chapters.

troops with you, merely to avenge the cause of all kings and all fathers. Alfonso fought against his son, and defeated him, which still proves how deserving he was to reign: but he died soon after
 3284. his victory.

The king of Morocco was obliged to return to his dominions: don Sancho, the unnatural son of Alfonso, continued to enjoy the crown, which he had usurped from his nephew, and his reign was happy.

The Portuguese dominions at that time included the province of Algarves, which had been wrested at length from the Moors. The word *Algarves* signifies, in Arabic, a fruitful country. Let us not forget that Alfonso the Sage assisted Portugal greatly in making this conquest. All this, I apprehend, irrefragably proves, that Alfonso never had any reason to repent his having cultivated the sciences, as some historians would fain insinuate, who give themselves the air of politicians, by affecting to condemn the arts which they ought rather to respect.

So far was Alfonso the philosopher from forgetting his temporal interest, that he made pope Gregory X. grant him a third part of the tenths of Leon and Castile, a right which he transmitted to his successors.

His family met with disturbances; but they
 3303. maintained their ground against the Moor. His grandson Ferdinand IV. dispossessed them of Gibraltar, which was not so hard to take then, as it is now.

This Ferdinand IV is called *Ferdinand The Summoned*, because he is said to have ordered in a hurry of passion two noblemen to be thrown
 down

down a rock, who before his commands were executed, summoned him to attend the supreme tribunal in thirty days, and that he died in that time. We could wish that this story was true, or at least that it was looked upon as such by those, who believe they have a right to do every thing with impunity. He was father of the famous Peter the Cruel, whose excessive severities we shall see presently, an unrelenting prince, who exercised the most tyrannical barbarities upon mankind, without being summoned to the supreme tribunal.

Arragon on the other hand began to acquire strength, as we have already seen; and its power was increased by the addition of Sicily.

The popes pretended they had a right to dispose of the kingdom of Arragon, for two reasons; first, because they looked upon it as a fief of the Holy See; secondly, because Peter III. surnamed *the Great*, who was charged with being concerned in the Sicilian vespers, was excommunicated, not for any hand he had had in that massacre, but for having seized on Sicily, which the court of Rome did not chuse he should enjoy. The kingdom of Arragon was therefore transferred by the pope's sentence to Charles of Valois, grandson of St. Lewis. But the bull could never be put in execution. The house of Arragon prospered greatly; and not long after, the popes who had been so eager to destroy it, contributed to its grandeur. Boniface VIII. gave 1194. Sardinia and Corsica to the king of Arragon, James IV. called the Just, to prevent the Genoese and the Pisans from disputing any further about those islands.

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Castile and France were now allied, because they were enemies to Arragon. This alliance was very strict, the prince and subjects of both nations being heartily united.

What passed at that time in France, in the reign of Philip the Fair, and the beginning of the fourteenth century, is well worth our attention.



C H A P. LIII.

Of Philip the Fair, and Boniface VIII.

THE reign of Philip the Fair, who ascended the throne in 1285, is a remarkable æra in regard to France, by the admission of the third estate into the national assemblies, by instituting the supreme courts of judicature called parliaments, by the first erection of a new peerage in favour of the duke of Britany, by the suppression of duels in civil matters, and by the law of appanages restrained only to male heirs. At present we shall confine ourselves to two other articles, the quarrel between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII. and the suppression of the order of knights templars.

We have already taken notice that Boniface VIII. of the family of the Cajetans, was a man of the same stamp as Gregory VII. more learned indeed than Gregory in the canon law, as zealous as he to subject the temporal powers to the church, and all churches whatever to the holy
see.

see. Italy was more than ever a prey to the factions of the Guelphs and Gibellines. The Gibellines were originally the adherents of the emperor; but as the empire at that time was only an empty name, the Gibellines still made use of this name to strengthen themselves and to increase their own power. Boniface had been long a Gibelline when only a private person; but you may easily imagine he was a Guelph, when raised to the pontifical throne. It is said that the first day of Lent, as he was giving the ashes to the archbishop of Genoa, he flung them in his face, saying to him, *remember thou art a Gibelline*, instead of, *remember thou art man**. The house of Colonna, who were the chief barons of Rome, and lords of several towns in the patrimony of S. Peter, were of the Gibelline faction. Their interest in regard to the popes was the same as that of the German lords in regard to the emperor, or of the French nobility in respect to the king of France. The power of the feudal lords clashed every where with the supreme authority.

The other barons in the neighbourhood of Rome were in the same circumstances: they joined with the kings of Sicily, and with the Gibellines of the several towns in Italy. We must not therefore be surprized, if the pope was a persecutor, and was persecuted in his turn. Almost all those lords had *diplomas of vicars of the holy see*, and *vicars of the empire*; this was a sure source of civil broils, which the respect for reli-

* The words used in the church of Rome upon giving the ashes the first day of Lent are, *remember man that thou art dust, and into dust thou shalt return*.

gion could never extinguish, but was rather increased by the haughtiness of Boniface VIII.

These violent proceedings did not end without much greater outrages, which were committed a hundred years after by Alexander VI. The see of Rome at the time of Boniface VIII. was no longer possessed of all that country, which had been held by Innocent III. from the Adriatic to the harbour of Ostia. The pope pretended to the supreme jurisdiction; and he had the lordship of some towns: but upon the whole his power might be said to be very limited. The great revenue of the supreme pontiffs consisted in the contributions raised on the universal church, in the tenths frequently raised upon the clergy, in dispensations, and various taxes.

Things being so circumstanced, Boniface ought to have carried himself fair with a prince, who had it in his power to deprive him of part of those revenues, and to strengthen his enemies the Gibellines. And indeed even at the first breaking out of the quarrel between him and the king of France, he invited Charles of Valois, Philip's brother, into Italy, who came with a few gend-arms: he made this prince marry the granddaughter of Baldwin the second, the dethroned emperor of Constantinople, and he solemnly nominated Valois emperor of the East: so that in two years time he disposed of the empire of the East and West, with the kingdom of France; for we have already observed (chap. 42.) that in 1303, this pope, upon his being reconciled to Albert of Austria, made him a present of France. Of these three donations only that of the empire

of Germany was accepted, because Albert was actually in possession of it.

The pope, before his reconciliation with the emperor, had conferred another title on Charles of Valois, that of *Vicar of the empire* in Italy, but especially in Tuscany. He thought, that since he named the masters, he had still a stronger right to appoint the vicars. In order to please him, Charles of Valois persecuted the Gibelline party at Florence with great fury. And yet at the very time that Valois was doing him this service, Boniface treats his brother the king of France with the greatest indignity. Nothing can be a stronger proof that passion and animosity will frequently get the better even of interest itself.

Philip the Fair, who wanted to spend a great deal of money, though he had but little of his own, pretended that the clergy, as the richest order of the state, ought to contribute towards the public supplies without asking leave from Rome. The pope wanted the tenth penny which had been granted for the relief of the Holy Land, though it was no longer capable of relief, and was subject to a descendant of Jenghiz-chan; but the king took the money to himself, to carry on the war in Guienne, in which he was engaged in 1301 and 1302 against Edward king of England. Such was the first occasion of the quarrel, which was afterwards inflamed to a very high pitch by the insolence of a bishop of the city of Pamiers. This man had entered into a cabal against the king in his own province, which was then subject to the jurisdiction of the crown; and yet the pope made him his legate to the French court. Thus a sub-
ject

ject invested with a dignity, which, in the stile of the court of Rome, put him at least upon a level with the king himself, comes to Paris to defy his sovereign, and menaces to suspend the celebration of divine service throughout his kingdom. If a layman had behaved himself thus, he would have been put to death; but the king found it necessary to act with the greatest precaution and tenderness, even in arresting the person of the bishop: and moreover he was obliged to deliver him up into the hands of his metropolitan the archbishop of Narbonne.

No sooner was this step taken, than out comes this pope's famous bull, in which he says, that the vicar of Jesus Christ is established with full power over all the kings and kingdoms of the earth. The pope issues out his orders to all the bishops of France to repair forthwith to Rome. A nuncio, who was only archdeacon of Narbonne, goes and presents this bull, and these orders, to the king, and openly declares to him, that he must acknowledge, as well as all other princes, that he holds his crown of the pope. To this insolent speech such a modest answer was given, as was little expected from a person of Philip's character. All he did was to throw the pope's bull into the fire, to send back the nuncio to his own country, and to prohibit the bishops from stirring out of France; and yet there were at least forty of them, with several of the heads of religious orders, who went to Rome.

1303. The king was then obliged to assemble the states general, only to decide this plain question, whether the bishop of Rome was king of France or not.

Cardinal

Cardinal le Moine, a Frenchman by birth, but who had now no other country than Rome, came to Paris in order to negotiate; and if he could not succeed, to excommunicate the kingdom. This new legate had orders to bring the king's confessor, a Dominican friar, with him to Rome, that he might give an account of his own conduct, as well as of the king's. Every thing that human wit can rack and invent to cry up the pope's power, was on this occasion exhausted: the bishops were all submissive to him; new orders of religious men immediately depending on the holy see, had every where erected his standard; Philip was a prince who confessed his most secret thoughts, or at least was supposed to confess them to one of those monks; in fine, this confessor was summoned by the pope his master to come and give an account at Rome of the conscience of his penitent. And yet Philip did not yield; but seized on the temporalities of all the absent prelates. The states of the kingdom appealed to a future general council, and to a future pope; a remedy which even betrayed some weakness. For to appeal to the pope, was acknowledging his authority: and what occasion have mankind for either council or pope, to know that all governments are independent, and that we ought to obey only the laws of our own country?

The pope immediately deprived all the ecclesiastical bodies of France of the right of election, and the universities of the right of conferring degrees, and even of teaching, as if he revoked a gift of his own granting. These armies were but weak; in vain did he want to strengthen

VOL. II.

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them

them with the forces of the German empire : Albert of Austria was not sufficiently powerful.

The French king was now at full liberty to treat the pope as a prince with whom he was at open war. Accordingly he joined with the family of the Colonnas ; and William de Nogaret was sent into Italy under plausible pretences, where he privately raised a few horse, and gave rendezvous to Sciarra Colonna. They surprized Boniface at Anagni, and cried out, *Let the pope die, and the French live.* But the pontif did not lose courage ; he dressed himself in his cope, put his tiara on his head, and holding the keys in one hand, and the cross in the other, he went and presented himself in a majestic manner before Colonna and Nogaret. It is said, though not for certain, that Colonna was so brutal as to strike him. The writers of that time mention, that he cried out to him, " Tyrant, renounce forthwith the pontificate which thou dishonourest, as thou hast obliged Celestin to renounce it." The pope boldly replied, " I am pope, and I will die pope ;" upon which the French plundered his palace, and made themselves masters of his treasure. But after the committing of these outrages, which were more becoming a robber than a great king, the inhabitants of Anagni perceiving the small number of French, and being ashamed to leave their countryman and their pope in the hands of foreigners, flew to their arms, and drove away the French : as to Boniface, he went to Rome, meditating revenge, but died soon after his arrival.

1303.

Philip

Philip the Fair pursued his enemy even into the grave, by endeavouring to get his memory condemned in a council. He pressed Clement V, a native of France, and who resided in Avignon, to commence a process in form against Boniface. The accusation was that he had engaged his predecessor Celestin V. to resign the pontifical chair; that he had supplanted him by unlawful methods; and murdered him in prison. The last charge was but too true. One of his domestics, named Maffredo, and thirteen more, deposed, that he had more than once insulted the religion which had made him so powerful, by saying, *Oh what a gainful thing the fabulous story of Christ has been to us!* Consequently, that he denied the mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Transubstantiation. These depositions are still extant in the collection of judicial inquiries made on that occasion. The number of witnesses generally strengthens a charge; but here they weaken it. It is not in the least probable, that a supreme pontif would have uttered, in the presence of thirteen witnesses, what one would hardly mention to a single person. Clement V was prudent enough to find excuses for putting off, from time to time, an enquiry, which would have proved extremely dishonourable to the church.

Some time afterwards all Europe and Asia were amazed at an event, which had also its source in the vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair.

C H A P. LIV.

Of the punishment of the knights templars, and of the suppression of this order.

AMONG the many contradictions which are blended in the constitution of sublunary things, we may reckon it a very great one, that there should be such an institution as that of armed monks, who make a vow of living at the same time as anchorets and soldiers.

The knights templars were accused of uniting all the odious qualities of these two professions; namely, the debauchery and cruelty of the soldier, and the insatiable passion of gain, imputed to those great orders that have made a vow of poverty.

While they, and the knights hospitallers of St. John, tasted the fruits of their labour, the Teutonic order, which had its rise, as well as theirs, in the Holy Land, made themselves masters, in the thirteenth century, of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Samogitia. The Teutonic knights were accused of reducing the clergy, as well as the peasants, to a state of slavery, of stripping them of their property, of usurping the rights of bishops, and of exercising the most horrid acts of rapine and plunder: but their great power and success hindered any enquiry after their conduct. The templars were grown the object of envy, because they lived among their countrymen with all the splendor and pomp attending opulence, and in such lawless pleasures

ture of Philip, and who then resided at Poitiers, joins with this prince, after having settled some disputes between them concerning the right which the church had of judging religious orders, and the king's right of punishing his subjects. The pope himself examined seventy-two knights; the rest were prosecuted by inquisitors, and commissaries appointed for that purpose. Bulls were issued out to all the potentates of Europe, to excite them to imitate the example of France: they were complied with in Castile, Arragon, Sicily, and England; but these unfortunate people were put to death no where except in France. They were accused by two hundred and one witnesses of denying Jesus Christ at their admittance into the order, of spitting upon the cross, and of worshipping a gilded head erected on a block with four feet. The novice kissed the knight who had made his vow of religion, and was received by him with a kiss at his mouth, his navel, and in that part which seems the least designed for this use; and then he swore to be directed entirely by the confraternity. The informations preserved down to our time, tell us that this was acknowledged by seventy-two templars to the pope himself, and by one hundred and forty-one of the accused, to brother William, a Franciscan friar, and inquisitor, in the city of Paris, before a number of witnesses. It is moreover mentioned, that the grand-master of the order himself, the grand-master of Cyprus, and the masters of France, Poitou, Vienne, and Normandy, made the same confession to three cardinals deputed by the pope.

What

What is beyond all doubt, is, that above one hundred knights were put to the most cruel torture; that fifty-nine were burnt in one day near the abbey of St. Antoine in Paris, and that the ^{1312.} grand-master, John of Molay, and Guy, brother of the dauphin of Auvergne, two of the principal lords in Europe, the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth, were committed alive to the flames, on the very spot where now stands the equestrian statue of king Henry IV.

The public execution of such a number of persons of distinction; the multitude of witnesses who appeared against them, and the numerous depositions even of the accused themselves, seem to be strong proofs of their guilt, and to justify the suppression of this order.

But, on the other hand, there is a great deal to be said in their favour: and, in the first place, most of those witnesses who had deposed against the templars, only bring a general charge. Secondly, very few pretend to say, that they denied Jesus Christ. For, after all, what could they get by cursing a religion that fed them, and in defence of which they drew their swords. Thirdly, though several of them who had been witnesses, and accomplices of the debauchery of princes and ecclesiastics of those days, might have expressed some contempt for the abuses of a religion so greatly dishonoured in Asia and in Europe; though they might have expressed their minds when they were off their guard, in the manner Boniface VIII is said to have done; yet this would have amounted to no more than an indiscretion of young people, for which the whole order surely was not accountable. Fourthly, that

gilded head, which they worshipped, and which was preserved at Marseilles, ought to have been produced at their trial: but there was not so much as the least pains taken to find it; and we must acknowledge, that such an accusation confutes itself. Fifthly, the indecent manner in which they are said to have been admitted into the order, could never have been established among them as a law. Whoever imagines that there are communities which support themselves by immorality, and which establish incontinency as a duty, must have a very inadequate notion of mankind. It is in the nature of every society to desire respect from those who want to be initiated as members of their body. I make no doubt, but that several young templars gave themselves up to excesses, which youth in all ages have been guilty of; and excesses of that kind are better left in obscurity than punished. Sixthly, though such a number of witnesses swore against the templars, yet there were a great many strangers, who deposed in favour of the order. Seventhly, if the accused were so overpowered by torments, (which are apt to extract falsehood as well as truth from the mouths of the tortured) as to confess such a multitude of crimes; this confession is perhaps no less to the dishonour of the judges than of the knights: they had been promised a pardon, to induce them to confess. Eighthly, the fifty-nine that were burnt alive, called God to witness their innocence, and would not accept of life on the terms offered them; namely, that they should acknowledge themselves guilty. Ninthly, seventy-four templars, who were not accused, undertook to defend their order, but were refused a hearing. When
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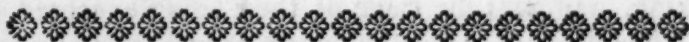
the confession of the grand-master, which had been drawn up before three cardinals, was read to that old soldier, who could neither read nor write, he cried out aloud that they had imposed upon him; that the deposition in writing was different from that which he had delivered by word of mouth; that the cardinals, who were the authors of such treacherous villany, deserved to be punished in the same manner as the Turks punish forgers, by splitting them in two. Eleventhly, the grand-master, and Guy, brother of the dauphin of Auvergne, might have saved their lives, if they would have publicly acknowledged their guilt: they were burnt only because when solicited upon the scaffold, and in the presence of the people, to acknowledge the crimes of their order, they made oath that the order was innocent. This declaration provoked the king, and was the cause of their being executed. They died invoking the divine vengeance in vain against their persecutors.

Yet, in consequence of the pope's bull, and of their great estates, prosecutions were carried on against the templars in all parts of Europe: but in Germany they took care that no body should seize on their persons. In their castles in Arragon they held out sieges. At length the pope abolished the order by his sole authority, in a private consistory, during the council of Vienne. Every body strove to share the spoils: the kings of Castile and Arragon seized on part of their estates, and part they gave to the knights of Calatrava. Their lands in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the hospitallers, at that time called the Knights of Rhodes, because

they had lately taken that island from the Turks, and by their courage and conduct in defending it, deserved at least the spoils of the templars for their reward.

Denis, king of Portugal, founded in their stead the knights of Christ, an order instituted to fight against the Moors, but which afterwards became an empty honour; and of late has ceased even to be an honour by being too common.

Philip the Fair seized on the estates of the templars to the value of two hundred thousand livres, and Lewis Hutin his son took to the amount of sixty thousand. Dupuis, an impartial and exact writer, says, that the pope did not forget himself in this partition. We must now take a view of another transaction that happened at the same time, which does more honour to human nature, and which gave rise to an invincible republic.



C H A P. LV.

Of the revolution of Swisserland in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

OF all the countries in Europe, Swisserland came nearest to the simplicity and poverty of the ancients. If it had not asserted its liberty, it would have no place in the history of the world; but would be confounded with so many other provinces of greater fertility and riches, which follow the fate of those kingdoms to which they are annexed. Objects that have not something in themselves considerable, seldom attract our attention.

tion. A gloomy climate, a rocky and barren soil, mountains, precipices, and poor inhabitants, long famous for being more heavy and rude than their neighbours, is all that nature has done for three fourths of this country. And yet the sovereignty of these rocks was disputed with as much fury, as when such multitudes of men were sacrificed for the kingdom of Naples, or for Asia Minor.

During those eighteen years of anarchy, in which Germany was without an emperor, there was a hard struggle between the lords of castles and several prelates, about who should have a small portion of Swisserland. The small towns of this country wanted to be free, as the cities of Italy, under the protection of the empire.

When Rodolph of Austria was elected to the Imperial dignity, some of those lords of castles juridically accused the cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Underwald, of having withdrawn themselves from their feudal subjection. Rodolph, who had formerly fought against those petty tyrants, determined in favour of the citizens.

Upon the accession of Albert his son to the Imperial throne, he wanted to erect Swisserland into a principality for one of his children. Part of this country was his own demesne, as Lucern, Zurich, and Glaris; and tyrannical governors were sent among them, who abused their power.

The founders of the Helvetian liberty were Arnold of Melchtal (from a valley so called in the canton of Underwald) Werner Stauffacher, and Walther Furst of Uri. The difficulty of pronouncing those respectable names, has hindered their fame with posterity. These three peasants

were the first conspirators ; each of them brought three more into the plot ; and these nine men prevailed on the three cantons of Schweitz, Uri, and Underwald, to join them.

All historians mention, that while this conspiracy was ripening; a governor of Uri, whose name was Griser, devised a very ridiculous, and at the same time detestable act of tyranny : he caused, they say, his cap to be put upon a pole in the public market-place, with an injunction, upon pain of death, to every one that passed by, to pay respect to it. One of the conspirators, named William Tell, refused to pay this compliment : the governor condemned him to be hanged, but granted him his pardon on condition that the criminal, who was reckoned an excellent marksman, should shoot an arrow at an apple placed upon his own son's head. The father trembling let fly his arrow, and had the luck to hit the apple. Griser perceiving a second arrow under Tell's coat, asked him what he intended to do with it ; *it was designed for thee*, said the Swiss in a rage, *if I had killed my son*. We must allow that this story of the apple is very suspicious. It seems as if they thought it their duty to deck the cradle of the Helvetic republic with fabulous embellishments : this however is mentioned as a certain fact, that Tell having been laid in irons, killed the governor afterwards with an arrow ; that this was the signal for the conspirators ; and that the people immediately rose up in arms, and demolished the fortresses.

The emperor Albert of Austria, who would fain have punished these free people, was prevented by death. Leopold duke of Austria, the same who

who so basely violated the laws of hospitality, in regard to Richard *Coeur de lion*, marched against them with an army of 20,000 men: the people of *Swisserland* behaved on this occasion, just as the Lacedæmonians formerly had done at the Streights of Thermopylæ. A small body of four or five hundred men waited for the Austrian army^{1315.} at the pass of Morgate: but they were more fortunate than the Lacedæmonians; for they put the enemy to flight, only by rolling great stones down upon them. The other detachments of Leopold's army were beaten at the same time by as small a number of Swiss.

As this victory was obtained in the canton of Schweitz, the other two cantons gave this name to their confederacy, which becoming more general, reminds them, by the very name, of the victory to which they were indebted for their liberty.

The other cantons by degrees joined in the confederacy. That of Berne, which now has the same weight in *Swisserland*, as Amsterdam has in Holland, did not enter into the alliance till 1352; and it was not till the year 1513 that the little country of Appenzel joined the other cantons; which completed the number thirteen.

Never did any nation fight longer and braver for their liberty than the Swiss: they have gained it by sixty pitched battles with the Austrians; and in all probability they will preserve it many ages. Every country that is not of a great extent, that does not abound in wealth, and is governed by mild laws, ought to be free. The new government in *Swisserland* has changed even the face of nature.

nature. The stony soil, which had lain fallow under their oppressive masters, has been at length manured. The vine is now planted on their rocks. The heaths, which have been plowed since they have recovered their freedom, are grown fruitful lands.

Equality, the natural right of mankind, still subsists in Swisserland, as much as possible. This country, in short, would deserve to be called happy, if religion had not divided those citizens, whom the love of the public good had before united; and if while they sold their valour to princes more rich than themselves, they had always preserved that incorrupt integrity for which their nation is distinguished.

In all governments whatever there are times wherein the people are transported beyond their usual bounds. These times have been less frequent in Swisserland than in other countries. Simplicity, frugality, modesty, those nurses of liberty, have been ever their constant characteristic. They have maintained no armies to defend their frontiers, or to invade their neighbours; they have built no citadels to defy their enemies, or to bridle their fellow-citizens; they have laid no taxes on the public. They are neither obliged to pay for luxury, nor for the troops of a lord and master. Their mountains are their bulwark; and every citizen is a soldier in the defence of his country.

C H A P. LVI.

*The state of the Empire, Italy, and the Popedom,
in the fourteenth century, continued.*

HAVING entered upon the fourteenth century, we may observe, that for these six hundred years, Rome, though weak and distressed, was still a place of the greatest importance in Europe. It extended its sway as the center of religion, at the very time that it was fallen into anarchy and contempt; and notwithstanding its abject condition, and the disorders with which it was afflicted, neither the emperors could fix their throne in that capital, nor the pontiffs make themselves absolute. Since the reign of Frederic II there had been four successive emperors, who had forgot Italy intirely; viz. Conrad IV, Rodolph I, Adolph of Nassau, and Albert of Austria. Then it was that the several cities in Italy recovered their natural rights, and set up the standard of liberty. Genoa and Pisa began to rival Venice; and Florence rose to be a famous republic. Bologna, at that time, was subject neither to the emperor, nor to the Pope. The municipal form of government obtained throughout the country; but especially at Rome. Clement V, who was called the Gascoon Pope, chose rather to remove the holy see out of Italy, and to enjoy in France the benefit of the contributions that were paid by all the faithful, than to dispute to no purpose about towns and villages in the neighbourhood of Rome. He

1312. He therefore removed his court to the frontiers of France; and this is what the Romans to this very day call the captivity of Babylon. Clement went from Lyons to Vienne in Dauphine, and thence to Avignon, carrying with him the countess of Perigord, and drawing all the money he possibly could from the devotion of the faithful.

How comes it that the Italians, at this juncture, when neither the emperor, nor the pope any longer resided in their country, did not follow the example of the Germans, who, notwithstanding the presence of the emperors, have, from age to age, established a limitation of the supreme power, and their own independence? As there were neither popes nor emperors in Italy, who then was it that forged new chains for this charming country? — Their own divisions. The Guelph and Gibelline factions, which arose from the disputes between the priesthood and the empire, still continued, like a fire that is fed by constant fuel. Discord reigned on every side. Italy was not moulded into one body like Germany. In short, the first enterprising prince that pleased to repass the Alps, might revive the rights and pretensions of the Charlemains and the Othos. This was the case at length of Henry VII, of the house of Luxemburg, in 1311. He marched into Italy with a German army, which proclaimed his authority. The Guelphs looked upon this as a new irruption of Barbarians; but the Gibellines favoured his undertakings. He subdued all the towns of Lombardy, and made a new conquest of that country. At length

length he marched to Rome, to receive the Imperial crown.

In vain did Rome, who wanted neither emperor nor pope, and yet who could never shake off the yoke of either, endeavour to shut her gates. The Ursis, though joined by the brother¹³¹³ of Robert, king of Naples, were unable to hinder the emperor from entering with sword in hand, assisted by the Colonnas. They fought a long time in the streets, and a bishop of Liege was slain by the emperor's side. There was a great deal of bloodshed for this ceremony of the coronation, which was afterwards performed by three cardinals instead of the pope. We must not omit observing, that the emperor protested before a notary, that the oath he took at his consecration, was not an oath of allegiance.

Henry being now master, appointed a governor of Rome; and he also ordained, that all the cities, and princes of Italy, should pay an annual tribute to him. In this order he comprized the kingdom of Naples, at that time a distinct government from Sicily; and he summoned the king of Naples to appear before him.

The pope was lord paramount of Naples, and the emperor stiled himself lord paramount of the pope; a strange sort of rights on all sides!

The emperor was going to make good his¹³¹³ pretensions to the kingdom of Naples by force of arms, when he died, as it is pretended, by poison, which a Dominican friar is said to have mixed in the consecrated wafer.

The emperors at that time received the holy communion in both kinds, as canons of St. John
Lateran.

Lateran. They might perform the office of deacons when the pope said mass ; and the kings of France might officiate as subdeacons.

There are no juridical proofs that Henry VII died by this sacrilegious poisoning. Friar Bernard Politianus, of Montepulciano, was accused of it : but thirty years after, the Dominicans obtained letters-patent from John king of Bohemia, son of Henry VII, by which they were declared innocent. It is a melancholy circumstance to have had need of those letters.

As in the elections of the popes there was very little order at that time, in like manner those of the emperors were very irregular. They had not yet thought on prudent laws for the prevention of schisms.

Lewis of Bavaria, and Frederic the Handsome, duke of Austria, were elected at the same time in the heat of violence and faction. Nothing but the sword could determine a point, which should have been previously adjusted by a
 1322. regular diet of electors. At length the Bavarian gained the crown by a battle, in which the Austrian was defeated and taken prisoner.

The reigning pope at that time was John XXII, who had been elected at Lyons in 1316. Lyons looked upon itself then as a free city, but the bishop wanted to be master of it, and the kings of France had not as yet been able to bring the bishop into subjection. Scarce had Philip the Long been crowned king of France, when he assembled the cardinals in this free city ; and after having sworn that he would use no violence towards them, he shut them all up, nor did he release them till they had nominated John XXII.

This

This pope is also a strong instance of the regard paid to merit in the church. And surely he must have had a vast share, to be able to rise from the profession of a cobbler to the first dignity in the Christian world.

He may be ranked among those pontiffs, whose pride has been equal to the obscurity of their birth. We have already observed, that the pontifical court subsisted intirely by the contributions of the faithful. This was a more valuable fund than the lands of the countess Matilda. When I mention the merit of John XXII. I do not mean his disinterestedness. He was even more eager than any of his predecessors, in exacting not only the St. Peter's pence, which was paid very regularly by England, but likewise the contributions of Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Poland. He used to solicit with such earnestness, that he always got something. But to live at Lyons, and to have little or no authority in Italy, was as if he were not pope.

While he resided in France, and Lewis of Bavaria was strengthening himself in Germany, both the emperor and he were losing ground in Italy. The Viscontis had begun to establish themselves in Milan: the emperor Lewis finding himself unable to crush them, pretended to grant them his protection, and to make them his lieutenants. They were Gibellines, and as such they seized on part of those lands of the countess Matilda, which had been a perpetual subject of discord. John made the inquisition declare them heretics. As he resided in France, he could run no risk in publishing one of those bulls, which give and take away empires. Accordingly

cordingly he deposed Lewis of Bavaria in his own fancy, depriving him, as the terms of the bull exprefs it, *of all his moveable and immoveable goods.*

The emperor marched with all expedition into 1327. Italy, where the pope durst not appear: he arrived at Rome, the transient residence of the emperors, in company with Castracani *, the tyrant of Lucca, and Machiavel's heroe.

Ludovico Monaldesco, a native of Orvieto, who wrote the memoirs of his own time at the age of a hundred and fifteen, says that he remembers very well this public entry of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria. The people with loud acclamations said : *Praise be to God and to the emperor ; we are delivered from war, famine, and the pope.* This passage merits to be quoted, only as it is from an author who wrote at the age of a hundred and fifteen.

* Castruccio Castracani, one of the most celebrated captains of his age, lived in the 14th century. He was born at Lucca, of the family of Antelminelli; and having borne arms very early in life in favour of the Gibellines, was banished by the Guelfs. He retired into France, and entered into the service of king Philip the Long, who was at war with the Flemings; but returning soon after to Italy, he joined Ugucione Faggivola, chief of the Gibellines in Tuscany, and made himself master of Lucca, Pistoia, and other cities. He entered into an alliance with the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, against pope John XXII. Robert king of Naples, and the Florentines. Lewis of Bavaria granted him the investiture of Lucca, with the title of duke, and senator of Rome. Cardinal John Cajetan Orfini, at that time legate in Italy, endeavoured to seize on Castracani, but unable to compass his design, he excommunicated him in 1326. This only made matters worse; and the troubles did not end till the death of the tyrant of Lucca, which happened in 1330 at the age of 47. Machiavel wrote his life, which is among this author's works: it was also written in a much better manner by Aldus Manutius; but the latter is very scarce. See Villan. Sab.

Lewis

Lewis of Bavaria convoked a general assembly at Rome, like those ancient parliaments of Charlemagne and his sons. This was held in the piazza of St. Peter: German and Italian princes, with the deputies of towns, bishops, abbots, and monks, assisted there in great number. The emperor seated on a throne, above the steps that led to the church, with the crown on his head, and a golden scepter in his hand, ordered an Austin friar to cry out three times, "Is
" there any man willing to defend the cause
" of the priest of Cahors, who calls himself
" pope John?" No body appearing, Lewis pronounced sentence, by which he deprived the pope of all ecclesiastical benefices, and delivered him up as an heretic into the hands of the secular power. Thus to condemn a supreme pontif to death, was the highest extravagance, that the quarrel between the priesthood and the empire could possibly produce.

Some days after, the emperor with the same ceremony and farce created a new pope, who was a Neapolitan, and a Franciscan friar: he invested him with the ring, put the cope round his shoulders, and made him sit down by his side under the canopy; but he took care not to conform to the custom of kissing the pope's feet.

Among all the religious orders, the Cordeliers at that time made the greatest noise. Some of them had pretended that perfection consisted in wearing a capuche or cowl sharp-pointed, and a very close habit. To this reform of dress they added another ingredient of perfection, namely, that they had no manner of property either in
their

their meat or drink. The pope had condemned these propositions ; a step which greatly shocked
 3318. the reformers. At length the quarrel growing serious, the inquisitors of Marseilles put four of those wretched friars to death.

The Cordelier, who had been nominated pope by the emperor, was of their party ; this was reason enough that John should be an heretic. It was this pope's fate to be suspected of heresy : for some time after, happening to preach that the blessed would not enjoy the beatific vision till the last judgment, and that in the mean time they had an imperfect vision ; these two visions divided the whole church, and John at last thought proper to retract.

And yet all this parade of Lewis of Bavaria at Rome was attended with no other consequence than the efforts of the other German Cæsars. The troubles of Germany called them home, and they missed their aim in Italy.

Lewis of Bavaria was far from being a powerful prince : hence it is no wonder that after his return to Germany, he could not hinder his pope from being taken prisoner by John XXII's partisans, and carried to Avignon, where he was confined. In a word, such was the difference at that time between an emperor and a pope, that Lewis of Bavaria, though a prudent prince, died very poor in his own country ; while the pope, who lived at a distance from Rome, and drew very little from Italy, left when he died at Avignon, if we will believe Villani, to the amount of five and twenty millions of florins.
 3344. Villani certainly exaggerates : even if this sum
 Villani

were reduced one third, still it would be a great deal. Indeed the popedom never was worth so much to any other person ; but never did any other pope set up such a multitude of benefices to sale, nor at so high a price.

He had claimed the reservation of all prebends, of most bishopricks, and the revenue of all vacant benefices. By the art of reserving he had found out the method of anticipating almost every election, and of conferring every benefice. Besides, he never nominated a bishop, but he removed seven or eight. Each promotion brought on another, and they were all productive of money. The taxes for dispensations and sins, were invented and digested in his time. The code of these taxes has been printed several times since the sixteenth century, with an intent of exposing most shocking abuses, which the church indeed has ever condemned, and with some difficulty abolished. The popes his successors continued at Avignon till the year 1371. This city did not belong to them, but to the counts of Provence ; the popes however found means insensibly to make themselves usufructuary masters of it, while the counts of Provence were disputing about the kingdom of Naples.

The unhappy queen Joan, whose history we are about to relate, thought herself very fortunate in 1348, in ceding Avignon to pope Clement VI. for eighty thousand florins, which he never paid. Here the popes kept their court in quiet, diffusing plenty through Provence and Dauphiné, and forgetting their tempestuous residence at Rome.

Ever since the reign of Charlemain, the Romans had constantly preserved the ideas of their ancient grandeur and liberty. We have observed that one time they chose several senators, another time but one, or else a patrician, a governor, or a consul, and sometimes a tribune. When they found that the pope had made a purchase of Avignon, they thought once more of restoring their republic. With this view they conferred the tribuneship on a private citizen, whose name was Nicholas Rienzi, vulgarly called *Cola*, a man of a fanatic turn, but now grown ambitious, and consequently capable of great enterprizes. He took the reins of government into his hands, and the Romans had high expectations from their new magistrate. It is of him that Petrarch speaks in the most beautiful of all his odes or canzoni, where he describes Rome, with disheveled hair, her eyes bedewed with tears, and imploring the assistance of Rienzi.

*Con gli occhi di dolor bagnati e molli
Ti chier' mercè da tutti sette i colli.*

This tribune assumed the title of the *severe and clement deliverer of Rome, the zealous defender of Italy, and the lover of mankind*. He declared that the people of Italy were all free, and citizens of Rome. But these convulsions of a long expiring liberty, had no more effect than the pretensions of the emperors to Rome. This tribuneship was as short-lived, as the senate and consulate which had been restored to no purpose. Rienzi having begun like the Gracchi,
made

made the like end : he was assassinated by a faction of the patrician families.

Rome was in danger of being ruined by the absence of the papal court, by the troubles of Italy, the barrenness of its territory, and by the removal of its manufactures to Genoa, Pisa, Venice, and Florence. Its only support at that time was the resort of pilgrims. The grand jubilee, which Boniface VIII. appointed to be held at the beginning of every century, and was afterwards shortened by Clement VI. to every fiftieth year, used to attract such swarms, that in 1350 they reckoned two hundred thousand strangers in that capital. Thus Rome without either pope or emperor was a feeble state, and yet the metropolis of Christendom.



C H A P. LVII.

Of Joan, queen of Naples.

WE have already mentioned that the holy see had purchased Avignon of Joan of Anjou and Provence. Princes rarely dispose of their dominions, without having met with misfortunes. The catastrophe of this queen is connected with the several transactions of that time, but especially with the great schism of the West, which we shall presently have under our consideration.

Naples and Sicily were still governed by foreigners ; Naples by the house of France, and Sicily by that of Arragon. Robert who died in

1343, had rendered Naples a flourishing kingdom. His nephew Lewis of Anjou was elected king of Hungary. Thus the house of France extended its branches on all sides: but those branches being neither united with the stock, nor among themselves, proved all unfortunate. Robert king of Naples, before he died, had married Joan his grand-daughter and heir, to Andrew brother of the king of Hungary. This marriage, which was expected to cement the happiness of the family, proved the source of its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to govern of his own authority. Joan, young as she was, would not consent to his being more than the queen's consort. Andrew was governed by a Franciscan friar, named brother Robert, who blew the coals of discord between the husband and wife. The queen had a court of Neapolitans, Andrew another of Hungarians, who were looked upon as barbarians by the natives of the country; a circumstance which strengthened their antipathy. Lewis, prince of Tarentum, and of the blood royal, who afterwards married the queen, entered into a conspiracy with other princes of the blood, with the favourites of that princess, and with the famous *Cataneſe* *, who was strongly attached to her mistress, to murder Andrew

* The history of this famous woman deserves a more particular notice. Robert king of Naples had by his wife Violante of Arragon, two sons, Charles duke of Calabria, father of Joan I. and Lewis born at Catania. A nurse being wanted for the latter, none could be had but a poor woman, named Philippina, of the same town, who lived by washing of linnen; and her husband was a fisherman. She was young and handsome, and as she had had the nursing of Lewis, his mother Violante grew extremely fond of her. But the queen dying soon after, Philippina was left without protection or support. In this

Andrew. They strangled him in the city of¹³⁴⁶. Aversa in his wife's antichamber, almost in her presence; and flung him out of the window. His body lay three days unburied. Within a year the queen marries the prince of Tarentum, whom the public voice accused of the murder. What strong reasons to believe her guilty! they who attempt to justify her, alledge that she had four husbands, and that a queen so ready to submit to the yoke of matrimony, ought not to be suspected of such heinous crimes as are the offspring of lawless love. But is love the only

this situation however she did not continue long: for Charles the elder brother of her foster child, having married Sanchetta, daughter of the king of Majorca; Philippina, whom Violante had recommended to king Robert, insinuated herself so strongly into the good graces of Sanchetta, that this princess embraced every opportunity to raise her fortune. Philippina happened to bury her husband, and Raymond de Chabannes, the king's head cook, having taken a young Moor into his service, had him christened after his own name, and resigned his employment to him some time after. This Moor ingratiated himself with the king and the duke his son, was made keeper of the wardrobe, acquired a great estate, and married Philippina, at the desire of the duchess of Calabria. Upon the birth of Joan, Philippina was named governess to the young princess. Her husband Raymond the Moor was appointed steward of the household, and great seneschal of Naples, in which post he died not long after. As soon as king Robert had declared his grand-daughter Joan his heir, Philippina made use of every wile and artifice, to gain an absolute ascendant over the mind of her mistress, who by the advice of this woman strangled her husband. It is even believed that Philippina committed the very fact herself; and that her son the count of Evoli, and great seneschal, hurried her on to it, that he might have less interruption in his amours with queen Joan. But as most of the nobility of the kingdom pitched upon Hugh of Beaux, prince of Orange, to inquire into and to punish the murderers, the Catanese was racked to death, her daughter Sanchetta was burnt alive, her son Robert received the same sentence, but was pulled out of the fire half dead, dragged through the city, and cut in pieces. See Giannone hist. of Naples.

cause of such crimes? Joan consented to the murder of her husband through weakness; and she was afterwards thrice married, in consequence of another weakness, still more excusable, the incapacity of reigning alone.

Lewis of Hungary wrote to Joan, that he would revenge the death of his brother Andrew upon her and her accomplices. Accordingly he marched an army towards Naples through the Venetian and ecclesiastic territories, and publicly impeached Joan at Rome before the tribune Cola Rienzi, who during his short and ridiculous administration beheld kings at his tribunal, like the ancient Romans. Rienzi was afraid to pass sentence, and in this alone he shewed his prudence.

In the mean while Lewis advanced towards Naples, with a black standard, on which was represented the murder of the king. He struck
 1347. off the head of Charles of Durazzo, a prince of the blood, who had been accessory to the murder. He pursued queen Joan, who fled with her second husband, to her territories in Provence. But what is very extraordinary, ambition had no share in Andrew's revenge. He might have made himself master of the kingdom; but he did not chuse it. Such examples of moderation are very rare. He was a prince of most strict virtue, on which account he was afterwards elected king of Poland. We shall speak of him further, when we come to treat in particular of Hungary.

Joan thus punished before she was twenty years old, for a crime which involved her people in as much misery as herself, abandoned also by the Neapolitans and the Provençals, repaired to pope Clement VI. in Avignon, of
 which

which place she was sovereign: she resigned ^{1318.} both the town and territory to him for eighty thousand florins, which were never paid. While this contract was negotiating, she pleaded her cause in person before the consistory, who declared her innocent. Clement VI. in order to prevail on the king of Hungary to retire from Naples, promises that Joan shall pay him three hundred thousand florins. Lewis replies, that he was not come to sell his brother's blood, but that as he had partly taken his revenge, he was satisfied, and would return to his country. Never did the spirit of chivalry, which prevailed in those days, produce a stronger instance of rigour, and generosity.

The queen having been expelled from her kingdom by her brother-in-law, and restored by the pope, lost her second husband, and for some years remained a widow. She married afterwards a prince of Arragon, who died in a very short time. At length at the age of six ^{1376.} and forty, she was married again to a younger brother of the house of Brunswick, named Otho. This was rather chusing a husband to please her fancy, than a prince to defend her dominions. The next heir to the crown was another Charles of Durazzo her cousin, the only issue remaining of the first house of Anjou at Naples: these princes bore that name, because the town of Durazzo, which they had conquered from the Greeks, and which was afterwards wrested from them by the Venetians, had been once their appanage. She acknowledged this Durazzo as her next heir, and even adopted him for her son. This adoption, and the great schism of the

E 3

West;

West, hastened the death of that unfortunate princess.

The unhappy consequences of this schism, of which we shall presently give a particular account, had already begun to appear. Brigano, who took the name of Urban VI. and the count of Geneva, who was called Clement VII. disputed the pontifical tiara with the utmost fury. All Europe was divided in the quarrel. Joan sided with Clement, who resided at Avignon. Durazzo impatient to reign before the natural death of his adoptive mother, took the part of Urban.

138. This pope crowns Durazzo in Rome, on condition that his nephew Brigano shall have the principality of Capua. He excommunicates and deposes queen Joan; and in order to secure the principality of Capua in his family, he gives away all the church lands to the principal families of the kingdom.

Urban accompanies Durazzo in his march to Naples. The church plate was employed in raising an army. The queen could receive no succours from Clement, whom she had recognized as pope, nor from her new husband. She had hardly any troops at all. In this situation she calls in to her assistance a brother of Charles V. king of France, who bore also the name of Anjou, and adopts him instead of the ungrateful Durazzo.

Lewis of Anjou, the new heir to Joan, arrives too late to defend his benefactress, or to maintain his right to a kingdom which had been settled upon him.

The

The choice which the queen made of this prince, estranged the minds of her subjects; who were afraid of more foreigners. The pope and Charles of Durazzo were advancing: when Otho of Brunswick assembled a few troops in a hurry; but was defeated and made prisoner.

Durazzo enters Naples: the queen had sent for six galleys from her county of Provence, which were at anchor under the *castel dell ovo* *, but could be of no use to her. It was all too late: there was no possibility of escaping; so she fell into the hands of the usurper. This prince to colour his barbarity, declares himself the avenger of Andrew's death. He consults Lewis of Hungary, who still inexorable, makes answer that the queen ought to suffer the same death as her first husband: upon which Durazzo orders her to be smothered between two mattresses. Thus 182. we find by the history of all countries, that one crime is punished by another.

Posterity, which is ever impartial, when it comes at the truth, laments the fate of this queen, because the murder of her first husband was rather the effect of weakness than premeditated malice, for she was only eighteen years old, when she gave her consent to that horrid deed: and after that time she could never be charged with debauchery, cruelty, or injustice. But it is the people we ought to pity: they were the sufferers during those disturbances. Lewis duke of Anjou, carried off the treasures of his brother king Charles V. and impoverished France, in attempting to revenge the death of queen Joan,

* The Egg castle.

and to recover his inheritance. He died not long after in Apulia without success or glory, without friends or money.

The kingdom of Naples had begun to emerge from barbarism under king Robert, but was now plunged into it again by all these calamities, which were further heightened by the grand schism. Before we take a view of this grand dispute in the church, which was settled at length by the emperor Sigismund, let us see what form the empire had assumed at that time.



C H A P. LVIII.

Of the emperor Charles IV. and the return of the holy see from Avignon to Rome.

THE empire of Germany (for in the confusion and troubles, which distinguished the latter part of the reign of Lewis of Bavaria, it was no longer the Roman empire) assumed a more settled form of government under Charles IV. of the house of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia and grandson of Henry VII. He published at Nuremberg that famous constitution, called the *golden bull*, because of the golden seal, which had the name of *bull* in the ages of base latinity. The stile of this charter still partakes of the spirit of the times. It begins with an apostrophe to pride, satan, anger, and lust. It says that the number of seven electors is necessary to oppose the seven deadly sins. It takes notice of the fall of angels, of terrestrial paradise, of Pompey, and Cæsar.

It

1356.

The
golden
bull.

It affirms positively, that Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as also on the trinity.

This law of the empire was made in the presence and with the consent of all the princes, bishops, abbots, and even deputies of the Imperial cities, who for the first time assisted at this assembly of the Teutonic nation. These privileges of cities, the natural effect of liberty, began to revive in Italy, were afterwards introduced in England and France, and at length were established in Germany. The number of electors, as is well known, was then fixed to seven. The archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Triers, had been long in possession of the right of electing the emperor, and therefore would not suffer any other bishops, though equal in power to themselves, to come in for a share of this honour. But how happened it that the dutchy of Bavaria was not ranked among the electorates? And why should Bohemia, originally a distinct state from Germany, and which by the golden bull has no concern in the deliberations of the empire, have yet a right of suffrage in the election? The reason is obvious: Charles IV. was king of Bohemia; and Lewis of Bavaria had been his enemy.

But never did the Imperial dignity, which of itself conferred no real power at that time, appear with greater splendor. The three ecclesiastic electors, all three archchancellors, were present with the seals of the empire. Mentz carried those of Germany, Cologne those of Italy, and Triers those of Gaul: yet the German empire had nothing more in Gaul than the empty homage of the remainder of the kingdom of Arles, of

Provence, and Dauphiné, which were soon after swallowed up in the vast kingdom of France. Savoy, which belonged to the house of Morienne, was held of the empire; and Franche Comté under the Imperial protection, was independent.

We have already seen what sort of possessions the emperor had in Italy: in Germany his sovereignty was confined to his hereditary dominions. And yet he speaks in his bull like a despotic king; he does every thing there *of his certain knowledge, and by his fullness of power*: expressions inconsistent with the Germanic liberty, and which are no longer suffered in the Imperial diets, where the emperor uses these words; *We have agreed with the states, and the states with us.*

In order to give some idea of the pompous ceremony of the golden bull, it will suffice to mention that the duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, the emperor's nephew, waited upon him at table; that the duke of Saxony, as great marshal, stood with a silver measure, filled with oats; that the elector of Brandenburg gave the emperor and empress water to wash their hands; and that the count Palatine laid the golden plates on the table in the presence of all the grandees of the empire.

One would have taken Charles IV. for the king of kings. Never did Constantine, the proudest of all the emperors, make so great a show. And yet Charles IV. even while he affected to be Roman emperor, had made oath to
 1346. pope Clement VI. before his election, that if ever he went to be crowned at Rome, he would not so much as lye one night in the city, and that he would never set foot again in Italy without leave

leave of the holy father. And there is still extant a letter of his to cardinal Colombier, dean of the sacred college, dated in the year 1355, wherein he calls this dean, *Your Majesty*.

He suffered the house of Visconti to continue in their usurpation of Milan and Lombardy, and the Venetians to keep possession of Padua, heretofore the sovereign of Venice, but now like Vicenza and Verona, become her subject. He was crowned king of Arles in the city of that name, but it was on condition that he should not reside there any longer than at Rome.

The electors, whose rights had been established by the golden bull of Charles IV. soon put them in force against his own son, the emperor Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.

France and Germany were afflicted both at the same time with a very extraordinary scourge: the emperor and the French king lost the use of their reason. On the one hand, Charles VI. by the derangement of his organs, threw France into disorder; and on the other, Wenceslaus was so stupified by gluttony, that he left the empire in a state of anarchy. Charles VI. continued on the throne, while his relations were ruining France under his name; but the barons of Bohemia 1393. confined Wenceslaus, who made his escape quite naked out of prison, and the electors by a public sentence juridically deposed him. The sentence 1400. mentions only that he is deposed, *as guilty of neglect of government, indolent, profuse, and unworthy to reign.*

It is said, that when he received notice of his deposition, he wrote to the Imperial cities, that he required no other marks of their fidelity, than

that they would send him some tons of their best wine.

The deplorable situation of Germany seemed to leave an open field for the popes in Italy; but the republics and principalities, erected in that country, were now settled. From the time of Clement V. the popes had resided at Avignon; but at length Gregory XI. who was born in the territory of the Limosin, removed his residence to Rome, though he did not understand one word of Italian.

1376. This pontif had had high disputes with the republic of Florence, which was establishing its power in Italy, and had entered into an alliance with Bologna. The pope, who by the ancient donation of Matilda, pretended to be the immediate lord of this last city, was not satisfied with revenging himself by ecclesiastical censures; but moreover exhausted his treasures to pay the *Condottieri*, who at that time used to let out troops for hire. The Florentines were now desirous to make up matters, and to engage the holy father in their interests. Believing that it would be of service to them, if the pope would reside at Rome, they wanted to persuade Gregory to quit Avignon. One cannot conceive how at a time when they were so knowing in matters of interest, they could make use of such ridiculous means (or at least which appear to us so ridiculous) to attain their ends. The person deputed to wait upon the pope was St. Catharine of Siena, a woman not only celebrated for revelations, but that pretended to have been solemnly espoused to Jesus Christ, and to have received a ring and diamond of him at her nuptials. Her con-

confessor, Peter of Capua, who wrote her life, had been witness to most of her miracles; *I was present*, says he, *one day, when she was transformed into a man, with a little beard to her chin; and this figure into which she was transformed all of a sudden, was that of Christ himself.* Such was the ambassadress appointed by the Florentines. On the other hand they had recourse to the revelations of St. Bridget, who was born in Sweden, but resided at Rome, and to whom an angel dictated several letters for his holiness. The supreme pontiffs have not been all of them men of genius. What shall we say? Was it simplicity in Gregory? Was he worked upon by springs proportioned to his intellects? Did he act through policy or weakness? Be that as it may, he complied at length, and the papal residence was removed from Avignon to Rome at the end of seventy years; only to involve Europe in new broils and dissensions.



C H A P. LIX.

Of the great schism of the West.

AT that time the holy see was possessed only of the patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, of the Campagna di Roma, the country of Viterbo and Orvieto, the province of Sabina, the dutchy of Spoleto, Benevento, and a small part of the marquisate of Ancona. The other territories, which have been united since to the ecclesiastical state, were then subject to different lords, in the quality of vicars of the holy see, or of
the

the empire. Since the year 1138 the cardinals had usurped the privilege of excluding the people and the rest of the clergy from the election of the Roman pontifs; and since the year 1216 they had made a law, that two thirds of the votes were necessary for a canonical election. At the time I am speaking of, there were only sixteen cardinals in Rome, eleven French, one Spanish, and four Italians. The Romans, notwithstanding their passion for liberty, and aversion to their masters, were willing to have a pope that would reside at Rome, because they detested the Ultramontanes a great deal more than they did the pope, and because the presence of the pontif was the means of drawing riches to their city. They threatened therefore to destroy the cardinals, if they chose a foreigner: at which the electors
 1378. were so frightened, that they nominated Brigano, bishop of Bari, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Urban II. This was a passionate and very unfit man, and consequently very unfit for such a dignity: he was hardly installed, when he declared in full consistory, that he would punish the kings of France and England, Charles the Wise, and Edward III. who, he said, were disturbing all Christendom with their quarrels. The cardinal de la Grange, a man of as violent a temper as the pope himself, lifting up his hand in a menacing posture, told him *he lied*; and these two words flung Europe into a confusion that lasted forty years. Most of the cardinals, and even the Italians themselves, were so offended with the fiery temper of a man thus unqualified for government, that they withdrew to the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the pope's election void,

void, as having been made by violence. After this they unanimously proceeded to the election of a new pontif, when the French cardinals had the uncommon satisfaction of outwitting their Italian brethren. They promised the tiara to each Italian in particular, and afterwards they elected Robert son of Amadeus count of Geneva, who took the name of Clement VII. Upon this Europe was divided: the emperor Charles IV. England, Flanders, and Hungary, acknowledged Urban, whom Rome and Italy obeyed. France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorrain, declared for Clement. All the religious orders were divided; the doctors all wrote, and the universities issued out decrees. The two popes treated each other as usurpers, and antichrists, and mutually proceeded to excommunications. But what completed the catastrophe, was, that they fought with the complicate fury of a civil and of a religious war.^{1379.} A body of troops, which Clement's nephew had raised in Gascony and Britany, marched into Italy, and took Rome by surprize, where in their first fury they killed all that came in their way. But the people of Rome recovering from their fright, quickly rallied, and a desperate engagement ensuing within the walls, the French, not excepting the priests of that nation, were all destroyed. Soon after this another army of pope Clement's, which had been raised in the kingdom of Naples, appeared within a few leagues of Rome, and offered battle to pope Urban's forces.

Each of these armies had the keys of St. Peter on their ensigns. The Clementine troops were defeated; yet the quarrel did not end here, for there were other interests to manage, besides those
of

of the two pontifs. Urban intending part of the kingdom of Naples for his nephew, dethroned queen Joan the protectress of Clement, a princess who had reigned many years in Naples with various success, and whose administration, in other respects glorious, was stained by the murder of her husband.

We have beheld this queen assassinated by her cousin Charles of Durazzo, with whom pope Urban wanted to share the kingdom of Naples. As soon as this usurper was in quiet possession of the throne, he refused to perform his promise to the pontif, who was not strong enough to compel him. Urban, who had more warmth than policy, was so imprudent as to pay a visit to his vassal, though he knew himself inferior in strength, and was attended but with a slender retinue. The ancient ceremonial obliged the king to kiss the pope's feet, and to hold his horse by the bridle: Durazzo conformed to only one of these ceremonies; he laid hold of the bridle, but it was to conduct the pope to prison. Urban was kept for a while in confinement at Naples, continually negotiating with his vassal, who sometimes treated him with respect, and at other times with contempt. At length the pope made his escape out of prison, and retired to the little town of Nocera, where he collected the scattered remains of his court. The cardinals, and some bishops, were so tired with his morose temper, and still more with his misfortunes, that they concerted measures at Nocera for quitting him, in order to remove to Rome, and to chuse a person more worthy of wearing the pontifical crown. Urban having got intelligence of their design, ordered

ordered them all to be put to the torture in his presence. Being soon obliged to fly from the kingdom of Naples, he retired to the city of Genoa, from whence some gallies had been sent to escort him; dragging with him those poor cardinals and bishops in that maimed condition, and bound in fetters. One of those bishops, being half dead with the torments of the rack, and unable to get ashore time enough to please the pope, was murdered by the way. As soon as Urban arrived at Genoa, he got rid of those cardinals, his prisoners, by different punishments. The Caligulas and the Neros had been guilty of crimes of the like nature, but they met with their due deserts, and Urban died peaceably in Rome. His creature and persecutor, Charles of Durazzo, was more unfortunate; for having made an expedition into Hungary, with an intent of seizing a crown which did not belong to him, he was assassinated in that country.

After the death of Urban this civil war seemed to be extinguished, but the Romans were far from acknowledging Clement. The schism was therefore continued on both sides: the Urbanists chose Perin Tomasel, and upon the death of this Tomasel, they pitched upon cardinal Meliorati. On the other hand the Clementines chose Peter Luna, a native of Arragon, to succeed Clement, who died in 1390. Never had pope less power in Rome than Meliorati; and Peter Luna was soon no more than a cypher in Avignon. The Romans desirous of re-establishing their municipal government, expelled Meliorati after a great deal of bloodshed, notwithstanding that they acknowledged him as pope; and the French, who had
recognized

recognized Peter Luna, laid siege to the city of
 1402. Avignon, where they kept him confined.

The states of France took so prudent a resolution upon this unhappy occasion, that I am surprized it was not followed by other nations. They acknowledged no pope at all; but each diocese was governed by its own bishop. They remitted no annats, and owned no reservations or exemptions; so that Rome was afraid lest that kind of administration, which continued some years, should last for ever.

Luna had promised before his election to resign his dignity, if necessary, for the sake of peace; but did not keep his word: a noble Venetian, named Corario, who was chosen at Rome, took the same oath, but did not keep it better. At length the cardinals of both sides being heartily tired with the general as well as private quarrels, with which the dispute about the triple crown was attended, agreed to call a general council at Pisa. Accordingly they met, and 24 cardinals, 26 archbishops, 192 bishops, 289 abbots, the deputies of all the universities, as also of the chapters of 102 metropolitan churches, 300 doctors of divinity, the grand master of Malta, and the ambassadors of all the Christian princes, were present at this
 1409. assembly. Here they chose a new pope, which was Peter Philargi, who took the name of Alexander V; but the fruit of this grand council was, that they had three popes, or antipopes, instead of two. The emperor Robert would not acknowledge this council; so that the confusion was greater than ever.

One cannot help lamenting the hard fate of Rome; they wanted to force a bishop and a prince

prince upon her whether she would or not. In pursuance of this resolution, a body of French troops under the command of Tanegui du Châtel, threatened to sack the city, unless she accepted of a third pope. Corario the Venetian transferred his residence to Gaieta, where he put himself under the protection of the son of Charles of Durazzo, known in France by the name of Lancelot, who then reigned at Naples: at the same time Peter Luna removed his see to Perpignan. Rome was plundered, but without any advantage to the third pope, who died by the way; and according to the politics which prevailed at that time, every body suspected he had been poisoned.

As the cardinals of the council of Pisa, his electors, had made themselves masters of Rome, they chose Balthazar Cozza, a Neapolitan, for his successor. This Balthazar was a soldier: he had been also captain of a privateer, and distinguished himself in the war, which still continued between the son of Charles of Durazzo, and the house of Anjou: afterwards he was made legate in Germany, where he grew rich by the sale of indulgences. He bought at length a cardinal's hat, for which he paid a high price; nor did he make a cheaper purchase of Catharine his concubine, whom he took away from her own husband. Perhaps a pope of this stamp was the fittest for Rome in her present situation; when she had more need of a soldier, than of a divine.

From the time of Urban V. the rival popes went on negotiating, and excommunicating, but confined their politics to the extorting of some money. This man determined to wage war: he was acknowledged-

known by France, and by the greatest part of Europe, under the name of John XXIII. He had no occasion to fear the pope of Perpignan; but the pope of Gaieta was formidable, because he was protected by the king of Naples. John XXIII. raises troops, publishes a crusade against Lancelot, gets prince Lewis of Anjou on his side, and grants him the investiture of Naples. A battle was fought on the banks of the Garigliano, where the pope's party remained victorious. But gratitude is not the virtue of sovereigns: reasons of state prevailing over every other consideration, the pope deprived his benefactor and defender, Lewis of Anjou, of the investiture, and acknowledged Lancelot his enemy for king, on condition of his giving up to him Corario the Venetian.

Lancelot, unwilling that John XXIII. should grow too powerful, suffered pope Corario to make his escape. This wandering pontif retired to the castle of Rimini, which belonged to Malatesta, one of the petty tyrants of Italy: here he subsisted intirely by the benevolence of this lord; and though he was acknowledged only by the duke of Bavaria, he excommunicated all the kings of Europe, and spoke like the sovereign of the earth.

John XXIII. the only lawful pope, because he had been elected, and acknowledged at Rome by the cardinals of the council of Pisa, and had succeeded the pope chosen by the same council, was likewise the only pope in fact. But as he had betrayed his benefactor, Lewis of Anjou; so Lancelot, king of Naples, whose benefactor he had been, betrayed him in like manner.

Lancelot, after his success, wanted to be master of Rome; accordingly he surprized this unhappy city, and John XXIII. had hardly time to make his escape. It was lucky for him that there were free cities then in Italy. To throw himself, like Corario, into the hands of one of the petty tyrants, would have been making himself a slave; he therefore put himself under the protection of the people of Florence, who fought against Lancelot, for their liberty, and for the pope.

Lancelot was carrying every thing before him; when the pope seeing himself besieged in Bologna, had recourse to the emperor Sigismond, who was come into Italy to conclude a treaty with the Venetians. Sigismond, as emperor, was likely to increase his power by the humiliation of the pope; and he was also the natural enemy of Lancelot, the tyrant of Italy. John XXIII. proposes to him to form a league, and to assemble a council; a league, in order to expel the common enemy, and a council to confirm his right to the pontificate. There was even a necessity for this assembly; for the council of Pisa had ordered it to be called at the end of three years. Accordingly Sigismond, and John XXIII. issued out their summons for the holding of this council in the little city of Constance; but Lancelot baffled all these negotiations by the success of his arms. Nothing but an extraordinary incident could set the pope and the emperor free; this was the death of Lancelot, who resigned his last breath at the ¹⁴¹⁴ age of thirty, in sudden and most excruciating pains, which gave a suspicion of his having been poisoned; a practice at that time but too frequent.

John

John XXIII. having got rid of his enemy, had no longer any thing more than the emperor and the council to fear; he wanted to put off the meeting of this European senate, who have a power of judging the supreme pontifs. But the meeting was proclaimed, the emperor insisted upon it, and those who had a right to sit there, were flocking from all parts to settle the peace of Christendom.



C H A P. LX.

The Council of Constance.

ON the western bank of the lake of Constance, the city of this name was said to have been built by Constantine; and Sigismond pitched upon it as the theatre where this great scene was to be acted. Never had there been a convocation more numerous than that of Pisa; and yet it was far exceeded by the council of Constance.

Besides the vast multitude of prelates and doctors, there were a hundred and twenty eight great vassals of the empire. The emperor was present himself. The electors of Mentz, Saxony, Palatine, Brandenburg, with the dukes of Austria and Silesia assisted at this assembly; seven and twenty sovereigns were represented by their ambassadors, who vied with each other in luxury and magnificence; as we may infer from this circumstance, that fifty goldsmiths went to live in that city, together with their workmen, during the holding of the council. They reckoned five hundred musicians, and seven hundred and eighteen

courtisans under the protection of the magistrate. They were obliged to build wooden huts in order to accommodate all those slaves of luxury and incontinency, who attended the princes and great lords, but not the fathers of the council. They were not at all ashamed of this custom; it was authorized in every state, as it heretofore had the sanction of almost all antiquity. The church of France allowed to each archbishop, deputed to this assembly, ten livres a day (which is about fifty of our present currency) eight to a bishop, five to an abbot, and three to a doctor.

Before I enter into the particulars of what was transacted in this general assembly of Christendom, I think it proper to give a summary view of the chief princes who then reigned in Europe, and of the state and condition of their respective dominions.

Sigismund had joined the imperial dignity to the kingdom of Hungary: but he had been unsuccessful^{1393.} against the famous Bajazet, sultan of the Turks; so that Hungary exhausted, and Germany divided, were both threatened with the Mahometan yoke. He had still been worse treated by his subjects, than by the Turks; for the Hungarians confined him, and offered the crown to Lancelot king of Naples. But he found means to escape out of prison, and having retrieved his^{1410.} affairs in Hungary, he was at length chosen head of the empire.

In France, the unhappy Charles VI. being seized with a frenzy, enjoyed only the title of king: his relations were employed in rending and dismembering the kingdom, so that they concerned themselves but little about the council; however,

ever, it was their interest that the emperor should not appear to be the master of Europe.

Ferdinand sat upon the throne of Arragon, and espoused the cause of his pope, Peter Luna.

John II. king of Castile, had no manner of influence in the affairs of Europe; but still he sided with Luna, and he had made himself master of the kingdom of Navarre.

Henry V. king of England, being taken up, as we shall relate hereafter, with the conquest of France, was desirous to see the pontifical power intirely reduced, to the end that the see of Rome might never be able to extort money from England, nor to concern itself with the rights of crowned heads.

Rome being delivered from the French troops, and still mistress of the castle of St. Angelo, had acknowledged John XXIII; yet she disliked her pope, and was afraid of the emperor.

The cities of Italy were so divided, that they had hardly any weight in the scales. The republic of Venice aspiring at the sovereignty of Italy, took advantage of the troubles of that country, as well as those of the church.

The duke of Bavaria, in order to act a part upon this stage, protected pope Corario, who had taken shelter at Rimini; while Frederick duke of Austria, Sigismond's secret enemy, thought only of traversing this prince's designs.

Sigismond made himself master of the council, by placing soldiers round the city of Constance, for the safety, as he said, of the fathers. It would have been better for John XXIII. to have returned to Rome, where he could be master, than to put himself in the power of the emperor, who

was

was able to ruin him. He entered into a confederacy with the duke of Austria, the archbishop of Mentz, and the duke of Burgundy; which was the cause of his misfortunes. The emperor immediately became his enemy, and notwithstanding his being a lawful pope, he insisted on his resigning the tiara, as well as Luna and Corario. John solemnly promised to comply,^{1415.} but repented the moment after. He saw himself a prisoner in the midst of the very council, over which he presided: the only resource left him, was to make his escape; but the emperor caused him to be narrowly watched. The duke of Austria, willing to favour the pope's escape, could find no better way of effecting it, than to entertain the council with a tournament. In the midst of this festivity, the pope went off in a postilion's disguise; and the duke of Austria set out immediately after him. They both retired to a part of Swisserland that belonged still to the house of Austria. The pope would have been protected by the duke of Burgundy, a prince of great power, whether we consider his own territories, or the authority he had in France; thus a new schism was going to be kindled. The heads of the religious orders, who adhered to the pope, were already withdrawing from Constance, and things were likely to take such a turn, that the council must become an assembly of rebels. Sigismond, who had been unsuccessful upon so many other occasions, was fortunate in this; having a body of troops at hand, he seized on the territories of the duke of Austria in Alsace, Tyrol, and Swisserland. This obliged the duke to return to the council, where upon his knees

he asked the emperor's pardon ; and joining both his hands, he promised never to undertake any thing against his will : at the same time he resigned all his dominions to the emperor, to be disposed of as he should think proper, in case he should ever break his word. Sigismond at length stretched out his hand to the duke of Austria, and forgave him, on condition he would deliver up the pope.

The fugitive pontif was arrested in Fribourg, and removed to a neighbouring castle : in the mean time the council proceeded in his trial.

He was charged with having sold benefices and relics ; with having poisoned the pope his predecessor ; with having murdered a multitude of innocent persons ; in short, he was accused of the most impious licentiousness, of the highest excess of debauchery, even of sodom and blasphemy : but they suppressed fifty articles of the verbal process, that were too injurious to the pontificate. At length they read in the emperor's presence the sentence of his deposition, which imported, that the council reserved to themselves the right of punishing the pope for his crimes, according to justice or mercy.

May
29,
1415.

The pope, who had shewn so much courage, when he had formerly fought both by sea and land, was all resignation when they came to read his sentence to him in prison. The emperor kept him three years close confined in Manheim, where he was treated with such severity, as rendered him more an object of compassion, than his crimes had exposed him to the public hatred.

They had now deposed the lawful pope ; and they wanted the renunciations of those who pretended

tended to the pontificate. Corario sent them his ; but the proud Spaniard Luna would never yield. The council was not so much troubled about deposing him, as about the election of a pope. The cardinals claimed the privilege to themselves : and the council acting as the representatives of the church, wanted to enjoy this right. There was a necessity for giving a head to Christendom, and a sovereign to Rome : and it was but just, that the cardinals who are the council of the prince of that city, and the fathers of the council, who in conjunction with them represent the church, should all give their votes. Thirty deputies of the council joined to ^{1417.} the cardinals, with one voice elected Otho Colonna, of that same family which had been excommunicated by Boniface VIII. to the fifth generation. This pontif, who changed his illustrious name for that of Martin, possessed the qualities of a prince and the virtues of a bishop.

Never was there a pope more pompously inaugurated : he marched towards the church, mounted on a white horse, whose reins were held by the emperor and the elector Palatine on foot ; a multitude of princes and the whole council closed the procession. The triple crown was put on his head, a crown which the popes had assumed two centuries ago.

The fathers of the council did not meet at first in order to dethrone the pope ; their principal view seemed to be the reformation of the church. This was chiefly the design of Gerson and of the other deputies of the university of Paris.

Complaints had been made in the council for the space of two years against the annats, the exemptions, the reservations, and the pontifical taxes upon the clergy for the benefit of the court of Rome, in short against all the vices with which the church was at that time disfigured. But how did this reformation end? Pope Martin declared, 1. That no exemptions should be granted without knowledge of the cause. 2. That the benefices which had been reunited, should be inquired into. 3. That the revenues of vacant churches should be disposed of according to the public law. 4. He made an ineffectual prohibition of simony. 5. He ordained, that those who had benefices, should be distinguished by the tonsure. 6. He forbade the celebrating of mass in a lay habit. These were the laws promulged by the most solemn assembly in the universe.

Gerson obtained with great difficulty the condemnation even of the following propositions: that there are cases wherein assassination is a virtuous action, far more meritorious in a knight than in a squire; and still much more so in a prince than in a knight. This doctrine of assassination had been publicly maintained by a doctor of the university of Paris, named John Petit, upon the murder of the king's own brother. The council for a long time evaded Gerson's petition; but at length they were obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning John Petit by name.

Such is the idea which I thought it incumbent upon me to give of the several political views of the council of Constance: the fires which were there kindled by a religious zeal, are of another kind.

CHAP.

C H A P. LXI.

Of John Hufs and Jerome of Prague.

FROM this sketch of general history, it plainly appears into what ignorance the inhabitants of this western part of the world were fallen. The nations heretofore subject to the Romans, became barbarians at the extinction of the empire; and the others had been ever such. To read and write was a very extraordinary accomplishment before the reign of Frederick II; and the famous benefit of the clergy, by which a condemned malefactor obtained his pardon in case he could read, is the strongest proof of the brutal ignorance of those days. In proportion to the ignorance of the vulgar, learning, but especially religious learning, invested churchmen with that authority, which teachers, in consequence of their superior knowledge, have naturally over their disciples. From this authority, power arose. There was not a bishop in Germany or in the North, who was not a sovereign: not one in Spain, France, or England, but was possessed of, or disputed the rights of the regale. Almost every abbot was become a prince; and the popes, though persecuted, were the kings of all those sovereigns. At length the greatest part of the bishops and abbots were, in consequence of the vices attending luxury, and of the disorders which follow ambition, reduced to the ignorant state of the laity. The universities of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, which had been founded towards the thir-

teenth century, cultivated that learning which had been forsaken by the opulent clergy.

The doctors of these universities, I mean such as were only doctors, soon exclaimed against the scandalous lives of the rest of the clergy; and the desire of distinguishing themselves, was the cause of their prying into mysteries, which for the public peace should never have been unveiled.

He who rent the veil with the greatest fury, was John Wickliff, doctor of the university of Oxford: he preached, he wrote, while Urban V and Clement ravaged the church by their schism. He pretended that what France had done only for a while, by acknowledging no pope, should be established as a constant law. This notion was approved by a great many English lords, who had long with indignation beheld their country treated as a Roman province; but it was opposed by all those who shared the benefit of this submission.

Wickliff was not so much protected in his theology, as in his politics: he revived the old opinions of Berenger, which had been formerly proscribed; he maintained, that we must believe nothing impossible or contradictory; that no accident can subsist without a subject; in a word, that the substance of bread and wine remains in the Eucharist. He wanted likewise to abolish auricular confession, indulgences, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The tenets which the Vaudois heretofore taught in private, he delivered in public; and his doctrine was nearly the same as that of the Protestants, who appeared a century after him, and of more societies than one of much greater antiquity.

His

His doctrine was censured by the university of Oxford, by the bishops, and clergy; but this did not suppress it. His works, notwithstanding their obscurity and bad stile, were spread abroad, numbers being prompted to read them merely from the nature of the quarrel, and the boldness of the author, whose irreproachable morals gave some weight to his opinions. These books had found their way into Bohemia, a country not long since barbarous, and which from the grossest ignorance was changing to another kind of ignorance, at that time known by the name of erudition.

The emperor Charles IV, the legislator of Germany and Bohemia, had founded an university at Prague, upon the same plan as that of Paris. It is said that they had near twenty thousand students at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Germans had three votes in the resolutions of the academy, and the Bohemians but one. John Hus, a native of Bohemia, batchelor of the university, and confessor to the queen Sophia of Bavaria, wife of Wenceslaus, obtained of the queen that his countrymen, on the contrary, should have three votes, and the Germans but one. The latter were disobliged at this, and retired; so that ever after they proved most bitter enemies to John Hus. About this very time he received some of Wickliff's works: he constantly rejected the speculative doctrine contained in those works, but adopted the passionate invectives against the scandalous lives of the popes and the bishops, against the excommunications thundered out with such levity and fury, and, in fine, against the ecclesiastical power, the rights and usurpations of which neither he nor Wickliff had

properly ascertained. By this behaviour he made himself more enemies; but he likewise acquired more protectors, and among the rest the queen, whose conscience he directed. He was accused before pope John XXIII, and summoned to appear towards the year 1411, but refused to obey the summons. In the mean time the council of Constance met, which was to pronounce judgment upon the popes, and upon the opinions of
 1414. men: and here he was also cited. The emperor himself wrote to the court of Bohemia, that they should send him to the council, in order to give an account of his doctrine.

John Hufs, full of confidence, repaired to this assembly, from which both he and the pope should have kept away. He arrived there in company with some Bohemian gentlemen, and many of his disciples: but what is most remarkable, he came there with the emperor's safe conduct, dated the 18th of October, 1414, and drawn up in the most favourable and the most ample terms, and in which the emperor undertook to protect him upon his journey, during his stay, as also in his return. No sooner was he arrived, than they made him a close prisoner, and proceeded to try him at the same time as they tried the pope. He ran away, as the pope did; like him he was also retaken; and they were both confined for some time in the same prison.

At length he appeared before them loaded with chains; and was examined concerning several
 1415. passages in his writings. We must confess, that there is no man but may be ruined, by wresting the meaning of his words. What doctor, what writer is sure of his life, if we condemn to the
 flames

flames a person who says, "that there is only
 " one catholic church, which contains all the
 " predestined in its bosom ; that a reprobate is
 " not a member of this church ; that the tem-
 " poral lords ought to oblige the priests to ob-
 " serve the law ; and that a bad pope is not the
 " vicar of Jesus Christ?"

And yet these were the propositions maintained by John Hufs : he explained them all in such a manner as might have acquitted him ; but the council understood them in such a sense as was found necessary to condemn him. One of the fathers said to him, " If you do not believe the
 " *universale a parte rei* *, you do not believe
 " in the real presence." What a way of arguing ! And on how precarious a thing did men's lives at that time depend !

Hufs had not embraced any of those propositions of Wickliff, which divide the protestants from the church of Rome ; and yet he was condemned to be burnt. Inquiring into the cause of this execution, I could never find it to be any other than that spirit of obstinacy which is generally learnt in the schools. The fathers of the council absolutely insisted upon John Hufs's retracting ; and John, convinced of his being in the right, would not acknowledge himself in an error. The emperor, moved with compassion, said to him, " What harm is there in abjuring
 " errors falsely imputed to you ? I am ready at
 " this very moment to abjure all manner of er-
 " rors : but does it follow from thence that I

* A barbarous term of the schools, signifying the real existence of something that is common to many things.

“held them?” Hufs was inflexible: he shewed the emperor the difference between a general abjuration of errors, and retracting an error: he chose rather to be committed to the flames, than to acknowledge he had been in the wrong.

The council was as inflexible as he: but the obstinacy of encountering certain death had something in it that was heroical; whereas that of condemning him to the flames was an act of cruelty. The emperor, notwithstanding the faith of his safe conduct, ordered the elector Palatine to drag him to the place of execution, where he was burnt alive in the presence of the elector himself, singing the Divine praises till he was silenced by the flames.

Some months afterwards, the council exercised the same severity against Jerome the disciple and friend of John Hufs, whom we commonly call Jerome of Prague. He was a man of a superior understanding and eloquence to John Hufs: at first he signed the condemnation of his master's doctrine; but hearing with what magnanimity John had encountered death, he was ashamed to live; he therefore made a public retractation, and was consigned to the flames. Poggio the Florentine, secretary to John XXIII, and one of the first restorers of letters, who was present at his interrogatories, and his execution, says, that he never heard any thing that so nearly approached to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerome made to his judges: “He spoke, says he, like Socrates, and walked to the stake with as much chearfulness, as that with which Socrates drank the cup of hemlock.”

Since Poggio has drawn this comparison, may I be permitted to add, that Socrates was in reality condemned like John Hufs and Jerome of Prague, for having incurred the displeasure of the Sophists and priests of his time. But, how great the difference between the manners of Athens; and those of the council of Constance; between a cup of mild poison, which, far from being attended with any apparatus of terror or infamy, suffered a person to expire gently in the midst of his friends; and the dreadful punishment of fire, into which the priests, those ministers of mercy and peace, flung their brethren of the sacerdotal order, who had been doubtless too obstinate, but were men, at the same time, of innocent lives, and endowed with admirable courage.

May I be permitted also to observe, that in the proceedings of this council a man that had been charged with all manner of crimes, was only divested of his honours; while two men accused of having made false reasonings, were sentenced to the flames.

Such was the famous council of Constance, which lasted from the first of November, 1413, to the 20th of May, 1418.

Neither the emperor, nor the fathers of the council foresaw the consequences of the execution of John Hufs and Jerome of Prague. Out of their ashes arose a civil war; for the Bohemians looking upon this proceeding as an affront done to their nation, imputed the death of their countrymen to the revenge of the Germans, who had withdrawn from the university of Prague. They likewise reproached the emperor with having violated the law of nations. And not long

after, when Sigismond wanted to succeed to his brother Wenceslaus in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found, that though he was emperor, and king of Hungary, yet the death of two private men precluded his accession to the Bohemian throne. The avengers of John Hufs were no less than forty thousand men; a sort of animals whom the severity of the council had rendered wild, and let loose upon the public.

Every priest they met with, atoned with his blood for the cruelty of the fathers of the council of Constance. John, surnamed *Ziska*, which signifies *blind of one eye*, defeated Sigismond in several battles. This same *Ziska*, having lost the only eye he had left, in an engagement, still continued to head his troops, giving his counsel to the general officers, and assisting in their victories. He gave orders, that after his death they should make a drum of his skin, which they obeyed: and these very remains of *Ziska* proved a long time fatal to Sigismond, who, with difficulty, in the space of sixteen years recovered Bohemia, notwithstanding the forces of Germany, and the terror of crusades. Thus the violating his safe conduct proved the cause of sixteen years desolation.

C H A P. LXII.

*State of Europe towards the time of the council of
Constance.*

Of Italy.

REFLECTING on this very council, held in the presence of the emperor, and of so many princes and ambassadors, as likewise on the deposition of the supreme pontif, and that of Wenceslaus, we see that Europe then professing the catholic religion was an immense republic, whose chiefs were the pope and the emperor, and whose disunited members consisted of kingdoms, provinces, and free cities, under twenty different governments. There was no sort of public affair in which the pope and the emperor did not concern themselves; so that the several parts of Christendom corresponded with each other in the midst of discord. In fine, the state of Europe exactly resembled that of ancient Greece, excepting the difference of extent, and politeness.

Rome and Rhodes were two cities in common to all Christians of the Latin church; and they had a common enemy, the Turkish sultan. The two chiefs of the catholic world, the emperor and the pope, had an imaginary greatness, but no real power. If Sigismund had not been possessed of the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, from which however he received no great revenue, the title of emperor would have been a burden to him. The demesnes of the empire were all alienated. The princes and Imperial cities paid

paid no tax nor tribute. The Germanic body was as free, but not so well regulated, as it has been since by the treaty of Westphalia. The title of king of Italy was as empty as that of king of Germany : for the emperor did not possess so much as a single city beyond the Alps.

To what cause it was owing that the Italians did not establish their liberty, and for ever exclude all strangers from setting foot in their country, is still a hard problem to solve. They endeavoured at it ; and there was a probability of their succeeding. Italy was then in a flourishing state. The house of Savoy was increasing its territory, without being, as yet, formidable. The sovereigns of this province were counts, who paid homage to the empire. Sigismund, who could give titles, if nothing else, made them dukes in 1416. Now they are independent kings, notwithstanding the title of feudatories. The Viscontis were possessed of the whole Milanese, a country which afterwards grew more considerable under the Sforzas.

The Florentines were remarkable for liberty, wit, and commerce. We see nothing but petty states, all aspiring to liberty, as far as the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. This system of Italy lasted from the death of Frederick II to the times of pope Alexander VI and Julius II ; a period of about three hundred years. But these three hundred years were spent in factions, jealousies, and mutual encroachments of the several towns, or in the usurpations of petty tyrants. This is a picture of ancient Greece. They cultivated the arts, and they plotted : but they did not know how

how to fight like the heroes that fell at *Thermopylae* * and *Marathon* †.

Look into Machiavel for the history of *Castracani*, the tyrant of *Lucca* and *Pistoia*, in the reign of the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. Success or disappointment, in attempts of that kind, constitutes the history of *Italy*. A family of the city of *Verona*, whose name was *Scala*, and whom the French call *l'Escale*, seized the government towards the end of the thirteenth century, and reigned there one hundred years. This family subdued *Padua*, *Vicenza*, *Trevigi*, *Parma*, *Brescia*, and other territories, towards the year 1330. But in the fifteenth century there was not the least vestige of this power. The *Viscontis*, and the *Sforzas* dukes of *Milan*, appeared later on the stage, and soon vanished. Of all the lords who were in possession of the several parts of *Romagna*, *Umbria*, and *Emilia*, there are not above two or three families remaining, who are now subject to the pope.

If you peruse the annals of the cities of *Italy* you will not find one, in which there have not been conspiracies, conducted with as much art as

* A pass only sixty paces in breadth, between *Phocis* and *Thessaly*, and called the key of *Greece*. The *Phocians* built a wall here to serve as a barrier against their enemies the *Thessalians*; the openings left in the wall were called *Pylæ*, that is, *Gates*; and from some hot baths, in the neighbourhood they took the additional name of *Thermæ*. This defile is now called *Bocca di Lupo*, or *Wolf's mouth*. The passage was defended by *Leonidas* king of *Sparta*, with three hundred men against a mighty army of *Persians* under *Xerxes*. *Leonidas* was slain at this battle, which was fought A. U. C. 274. See *Herodot.* *Justin.* *Plut.*

† *Marathon* was a small town in *Attica*, famous for the victory which twelve thousand *Athenians*, under the command of *Miltiades*, obtained over the *Persian* army, of above five hundred thousand, the third year of the 72 Olympiad, and 490 years before *Christ*. See *Corn.* *Nepos.* *Justin.* &c.

that

that of Catiline. In those petty states they could not raise armies either to attack or to defend : these were often supplied by assassinations and poisonings. A popular insurrection raised a person to the sovereignty : another deposed him. Thus it was that Mantua, for instance, passed from tyrant to tyrant, till the house of Gonzaga at length settled themselves in that principality in 1328.

Venice alone has always preserved her liberty, for which she is indebted to the sea that environs her, and to the prudence of her government. Genoa, her rival, waged war against her, and proved victorious towards the end of the fourteenth century : but Genoa afterwards declined daily, while Venice gradually rose till the time of Lewis XII, and the emperor Maximilian, when we shall see her striking terror into all Italy, and giving umbrage to the several powers that conspire against this commonwealth. Of all the governments in Europe that of Venice was the only one that could be said to be well regulated, stable, and uniform. It had but one radical defect, which was not however such in the eye of the senate ; it wanted a counterpoise to the Patrician power, and an encouragement to the Plebeians. In Venice no merit can raise a private citizen, as in ancient Rome. The beauty of the English constitution, since the house of commons have had a share in the legislature, consists in this counterpoise, the road to preferment being ever open to those who deserve it.

Pisa, though at present only a city dependent on Tuscany, was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,

centuries, a famous republic, which fitted out as numerous fleets as Genoa.

Parma and Placentia belonged to the Viscontis. The popes being reconciled to that family, granted them the investiture thereof, because the Viscontis would not ask it of the emperor, whose power at that time was extinct in Italy. The house of Este, which produced the celebrated benefactress of the holy see, the countess Matilda, was possessed of Ferrara and Modena. It held Ferrara of the emperor Otho I; yet the pope claimed some right to this city, and sometimes granted the investiture of it, as well as of several territories in Romagna, which proved an eternal source of confusion and discord.

During the transmigration of the holy see from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Rhone, there happened to be two imaginary powers in Italy, the emperor, and the pope, of whom all the other princes received their diplomas to ascertain their rights or usurpations: and when the pontifical chair was restored to Rome, the popes had no real power; while the emperors were almost forgot till the reign of Maximilian. No foreigner at that time possessed any dominions in Italy. The house of Anjou, which had been settled at Naples in 1266, and that of Arragon, which had enjoyed the sovereignty of Sicily since 1287, could no longer be called foreigners. Thus Italy abounding in riches, adorned with a number of flourishing cities, and fruitful in men of genius, might put herself into such a state of defence as no longer to receive the law from foreign nations. She had even this advantage over Germany, that not one bishop, except the pope, had erected a sovereignty; and all those

those different states being subject to temporal princes, were consequently much fitter for military operations.

As Italy was disturbed by divisions, which sometimes are productive of public liberty, Germany was much in the same confused situation, all the great lords having some pretensions or demands upon each other. But Italy, as we have already observed, never formed one body as Germany did. The Teutonic phlegm has hitherto preserved the constitution of their country sound and intire; while Italy, though of less extent than Germany, could never mould itself into any kind of constitution: so that by its cunning and finesse it is divided into several petty states, which have been subdued by foreign nations.

Naples and Sicily, which had been a formidable power under the Norman conquerors, were now two separate states, jealous of each other, and avowed enemies, since the Sicilian vespers. The foibles of Joan I ruined Naples and Provence, of which she was sovereign. Those of Joan II, which were still more scandalous, completed their ruin. This queen, the last of the family which St. Lewis's brother transplanted into Italy, had no sort of credit or influence in her kingdom, during her whole reign. She was sister of that very Lancelot who made Rome tremble in the times of confusion that preceded the council of Constance: but Joan II was far from being formidable. Her amours, and the intrigues of her courtiers, proved the disgrace and ruin of her dominions. James of Bourbon, her second husband, experienced her infidelity; and when he complained of it he was sent to prison. He had the

the good fortune to make his escape, when, to conceal his grief, and what the world calls shame, he shut himself up in a convent of Cordeliers at Besançon.

This Joan II was, unknown to her, the cause of two great events. The first was the elevation of the Sforzas to the dukedom of Milan. The second was the war, which Charles VIII and Lewis XII carried into Italy. The elevation of the Sforzas is one of those sports of fortune, which convince us that this world is made only for those who have power on their side. A peasant named Jacomuzio, who had been a soldier, and who changed his name for that of Sforza, rose to be the queen's favourite, constable of Naples, and standard-bearer to the church; in which posts he accumulated so much wealth, as enabled one of his bastards to conquer the dutchy of Milan.

The second event, so fatal to Italy and to France, was caused by adoptions. We have already seen how Joan I adopted Lewis I, of the second branch of Anjou, brother of Charles V king of France. These adoptions were a remainder of the old Roman law: they conferred the right of succession, and the adopted prince was considered as a son; but the consent of the barons was requisite. Joan II adopted first of all Alfonso V, of Arragon, by the Spaniards surnamed the *sage*, and the *magnanimous*. No sooner was this sage and magnanimous prince acknowledged the heir of Joan, than he divested her of all authority, sent her to prison, and was going to take away her life. Francis Sforza, the son of that illustrious peasant Jacomuzio, signalized his early years, and merited the grandeur to which

which he afterwards rose, by setting the benefactress of his father at liberty. Upon this the queen adopted Lewis of Anjou, grandson of him who had been so ineffectually adopted by Joan I. After the death of this prince, she appointed René of Anjou, brother of the deceased, her heir, in 1435. This double adoption was long a double source of discord betwixt France and Spain. René of Anjou, who was called to the sovereignty of Naples by an adoptive mother, and to that of Lorrain by his wife, proved unfortunate in both. He was intitled, *King of Naples, Sicily, Jerusalem, Arragon, Valentia, Majorca, and duke of Lorrain and Bar*: yet he had not a foot of ground in those countries. This multiplicity of useless titles, founded on pretensions that never had any effect, is a source of confusion in our modern histories, which oftentimes renders them disagreeable, if not ridiculous. The history of Europe is grown an endless register of marriages, genealogies, and disputed titles, which render the narrative obscure and unenterprising, at the same time that they stifle the memory of great events, together with the knowledge of laws and manners, objects more worthy of our attention.



C H A P. LXIII.

*Of France and England, during the reigns of
Philip of Valois and Edward III.*

E N G L A N D recovered its strength under Edward 1, towards the end of the thirteenth

teenth century. This prince, who succeeded his father Henry III, was indeed obliged to relinquish Normandy, Anjou, and Tourraine, the patrimony of his ancestors ; but still he preserved Guienne, and made himself master of the principality of Wales. He knew how to check the temper of the English, and to excite them to noble enterprizes ; he likewise made their commerce flourish, as far as was possible at that time. The royal house of Scotland being extinct in 1291, he had the glory of being chosen arbitrator by the pretenders to that crown. At first he obliged the Scottish parliament to acknowledge, that their crown was dependent on England ; and afterwards he nominated Baliol king, whom he made his vassal. At length he took possession of Scotland for himself, having conquered it in several battles ; but he could not keep it. Then began that antipathy betwixt the English and the Scots, which, notwithstanding the union of the two crowns, is not yet altogether extinguished.

Under this prince it began to appear that the English would not be long tributary to Rome ; for they made use of pretences to excuse their backward payment, and they eluded an authority which they durst not yet openly attack.

The English parliament assumed a new form towards the year 1300, very near the same as it now wears. The title of barons and peers was appropriated only to those who sat in the upper house ; and the commons began to regulate the supplies : in fine, Edward I gave a weight to the lower house, in order to balance the power of the barons. This prince, who had steadiness and abilities sufficient to manage and not to fear them,
formed

formed that kind of government which unites all the advantages of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; but which has likewise the inconveniences of all three, and cannot subsist but under a prudent king: his son was not such, and England was rent in pieces.

Edward I died as he was going once more to conquer Scotland, which had been already thrice subdued, and had thrice shaken off the yoke. His son, who was 23 years of age, though at the head of a numerous army, abandoned his father's schemes, to resign himself up to pleasures, which seem more unbecoming a king of England than any other sovereign. His favourites provoked the people, and still more so the queen, daughter of Philip the Fair, a wanton, imperious woman, jealous of her husband whom she dishonoured. The public administration was then only a scene of fury, confusion, and weakness. A party in the parliament caused a favourite of the monarch's, whose name was Gaveston, to be beheaded. The Scots took an advantage of these troubles; they beat the English, and Robert Bruce being made king of Scotland, restored that monarchy by the weakness of England.

It is impossible to act more imprudently, and of course more unfortunately than Edward II. He suffered his provoked wife Isabella to go over to France with her son, who was afterwards the fortunate and the celebrated Edward III.

Charles the Fair, brother of Isabella, reigned at that time in France: this prince followed the policy of all kings, which is to sow discord among their neighbours; in short, he encouraged his

his sister Isabella to levy war against her husband.

Thus, under the pretence that the king of England was in base subjection to a young favourite, named Spencer, his wife prepares to wage war. She marries her son to a daughter of the count of Hainaut and Holland; and persuades this count to lend her troops. At length she repasses into England, and with armed force joins the enemies of her husband. Mortimer, her gallant, attended her at the head of the troops, while the king fled before them with his favourite Spencer.

The queen ordered this favourite's father, an old man of ninety, to be hanged at Bristol: and she afterwards inflicted the same punishment at Hereford upon the favourite himself, who fell into her hands. They tore from him, while he hung upon the gallows, those members, of which it was pretended he had made a criminal use with the monarch.

At length the king, abandoned by all the world, and a fugitive in his own kingdom, was taken prisoner, removed to London, insulted by the populace, confined in the Tower, tried by the parliament, and, by a solemn sentence, deposed from the throne. The crown was given to his son who was only fourteen years of age, and the regency to his mother assisted by a council: in fine, a pension of about 60,000 livres was allowed the king during life.

Edward hardly lived a year after his disgrace. There were no marks of violence found on his body after his death: but it is said, that they ran
1327.
a red

a red hot iron into his bowels through a tube of horn.

Edward III soon punished his mother : he was yet a minor ; but being impatient and capable of reigning, he one day seized on the person of his mother's gallant, Mortimer, earl of March, in her own presence : and the parliament condemned 1331. this favourite without hearing him, in the same manner as the Spencers had been treated. He died by the hands of the common executioner, not for having dishonoured his king's bed, or for having dethroned and murdered him, but for the extortions and misdemeanors of which the ministers of state are generally accused. The queen was confined to her house at *Risings* *, with a pension of 500 l. sterling †, where she wept in solitude more for her misfortunes than for her sins.

1332. Edward III being thus master, and soon absolute master of the kingdom, began with the conquest of Scotland ; when a new scene disclosed itself in France. All Europe, in suspense, stood to see whether Edward would not acquire this kingdom by the right of blood, as well as by the sword.

France, which contained neither Provence, nor Dauphiné, nor Franche-Comté, was still a formidable kingdom ; though its king was not yet possessed of much power. The large dominions,

* Near London. She had a pension of three thousand a year allowed her, and lived twenty eight years in her confinement, where the king her son visited her once or twice every year.

† This is a mistake which Voltaire seems to have copied from Rapin. Her pension was 3000 l. per annum. See Knighton, col. 2556.

such as Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, Britany, and Guienne, which were held as fiefs of the crown, contributed more to the uneasiness than to the grandeur of the prince.

The demesnes of Philip the Fair, with the imposts on his immediate subjects, amounted to fourscore thousand marks. When this prince went to war with the Flemings in 1302, and almost all the vassals of France were obliged to contribute to the expence of this armament, those who did not perform the campaign, were obliged to pay the fifth part of their annual income. The people were unhappy, and the royal family was still more so. Few readers can be ignorant of the infamy, to which the three sons of Philip the Fair exposed themselves at the same time, by accusing their wives of adultery in open court. These ladies were all three condemned to close confinement; Lewis the elder brother strangled his wife, Margaret of Burgundy; and the lovers of those princesses were sentenced to a new kind of punishment, to be flead alive.

After the death of Lewis X, who, like his father, had annexed Navarre to France, the public attention was intirely taken up with the question concerning the Salic law. This king had left only one daughter; and they had never examined in France, whether the females were capable of inheriting the crown? Laws had been enacted only according to the present occasion; they had no knowledge of the ancient Salic laws; the want of them had been supplied by the established customs; and these customs were continually changing in France. The parliament under Philip the Fair had adjudged the province of Artois

to a female in prejudice to the next male heir. The succession of Champagne had been sometimes settled upon the females, and at other times taken from them. Philip the Fair took possession of Champagne merely in right of his wife, by whom the princes of the family were excluded. By this it appears, that right varied according to power, and that it was far from being a fundamental law of the state to exclude a daughter from her father's throne. To say, as so many authors have done, *that the French crown is so noble, that it cannot admit of women*, is, I think, quite puerile. And to pretend with Mezeray, *that the weakness of the sex does not permit women to reign*, is doubly unjust. Besides, the article of this ancient law, which deprives the females of the right of inheriting in the Salic land, seems to be founded on this, that every Salic lord was obliged to appear in arms at the public assembly of the nation. Now a queen is not obliged to bear arms; the nation does it for her: hence it may be affirmed, that the Salic law, a regulation in other respects so little known, was relative to the other fiefs, and not to the crown. So far was it from being a law, in regard to kings, that it has been often digested under the title *de alodis* *. If it was a law of the ancient Salii, it must therefore have been made before there were

* *Allodium* is a freehold estate. After the conquest of Gaul by the northern nations, lands were divided in a two-fold manner, in regard to private persons; into *beneficia*, and *allodia*; the former consisted in lands, which the prince granted to the soldiery, either for life, or for a certain time; the latter were those lands the property of which was continued to the ancient owners. See Du Moulin, and Hottoman,

kings of France; consequently it could have no relation to these kings.

Again, it is indubitable, that several fiefs were not subject to this law; and by a much stronger reason might it be said, that the crown ought not to be subject to it. These arguments were for some time maintained by the duke of Burgundy, uncle of the princess, daughter of Lewis X, and by several princesses of the blood. Lewis X had two brothers, who in a short space of time, succeeded him one after the other: the eldest was Philip the Long, and the youngest Charles the Fair. Charles at that time not thinking that he was so near to the crown, attacked the Salic law out of jealousy of his brother.

Philip the Long took care to have it declared at a meeting of some barons, prelates, and burghers of Paris, that the females ought to be excluded from the crown of France. But had the opposite party prevailed, they would have soon made a fundamental law to the contrary.

This Philip, who is scarce known but by having excluded the bishops from sitting in parliament, died after a very short reign, and left no male issue. The Salic law was then confirmed the second time; and Charles the Fair, who had opposed it, succeeded to the crown without any manner of dispute, and excluded his brother's daughters.

At the death of Charles the Fair, the same cause was to be again decided; the queen was with child, and a regent was wanting to the kingdom. Edward III pretended to the regency, as grandson of Philip the Fair by his mother's side; and Philip of Valois took possession of it in qua-

lity of first prince of the blood. The regency was solemnly conferred upon him; and upon the queen dowager's being brought to bed of a daughter, he ascended the throne with the consent of the nation. Therefore the Salic law, which excludes the females from the crown, was impressed in their hearts; and might be deemed fundamental in virtue of an ancient and general agreement. There is no other way to account for it. They are made by nations, and by nations repealed. Who can pretend to question, but that if there remained of the royal blood of France only one princess worthy to reign, the nation could and ought to give her the crown?

At that time Philip of Valois had the surname of *Fortunate* given him: he might also for a while have been called the *Victorious* and the *Just*; for his vassal, the earl of Flanders, having by his oppressive treatment, provoked his subjects to revolt, he marched to the assistance of this prince; and when the rebellion was quelled, he said to him, "Take care not to cause any more revolts by your ill conduct."

He might still be called the *Fortunate*, when he received at Amiens the solemn homage yielded to him by Edward III. But this homage was soon followed by a war; Edward disputing the crown with Philip, after he had declared himself his vassal.

A brewer of the city of Ghent was the chief promoter of this famous war, and the man who determined Edward to take the title of king of France. This brewer, whose name was James of Artevelt, was one of those subjects whom
princes

princes ought either to ruin, or to keep fair with. The prodigious weight he had in his country, rendered him a fit tool for Edward ; but he refused to exert this weight in favour of the king of England, unless he would take upon him the title of king of France, in order to make an irreconcilable breach between the two monarchs. Edward and the brewer signed the treaty at Ghent, long before hostilities had commenced against France.

I shall wave entering into any detail of the military operations, in which there is generally a great sameness ; but still confining myself to what characterizes the manners of the times, I shall observe, that Edward challenged to fight Philip of Valois ; the king of France however declined the challenge, saying, that it did not become a lord paramount to fight his vassal.

In the mean time there happened a new event, which seemed also to subvert the Salic law. Brittany, a fief of the crown of France, had been lately adjudged by the court of peers to Charles of Blois, who had married the daughter of the last duke ; and the count of Montfort, this duke's ^{1341.} uncle, had been disinherited. The laws were at variance with the interests of princes. The king of France, who, one would think, should have maintained the Salic law in favour of the count of Montfort, the male heir of the house of Brittany, sided with Charles of Blois, who claimed by the females ; and the king of England, who ought to have supported the right of the females in Charles of Blois, declared for the count of Montfort.

Upon this occasion hostilities commenced between France and England. Montfort was at first taken by surprize in Nants, and brought prisoner to Paris, where he was confined in the Tower of the Louvre. His wife, the daughter of the earl of Flanders, was one of those generous heroines that appear but very rarely on the stage of life, and from whose example the fable of the Amazons has certainly been copied. Putting herself at the head of her husband's troops, with a sword in her hand, a helmet on her head, and with her young son in her arms, she bravely defended the town of Hennebon, made sallies, fought in the breach, and at length, with the assistance of the English fleet, obliged the enemy to raise the siege.

Aug. 26, 1346. In the mean time the English and French parties carried on the war in Guienne, Britany, and Normandy. At length, near the river Somme was fought the bloody battle of Crecy betwixt Edward and Philip of Valois. Edward had with him his son the prince of Wales, who was called the Black Prince, because of his brown armour, and the black plume of feathers in his helmet: this young heroe had almost the whole honour of the day. Some historians attribute the defeat of the French to a few pieces of cannon, which the English had in their army: it had been upwards of ten or twelve years since the use of artillery was first introduced.

It has been said, that this invention of the Chinese was brought into Europe by the Arabians, who traded in the Indian seas. But this account is not probable. The discovery of the fatal secret

cret was owing to a Benedictine, named Berthold Schwartz *. There were others long before this time that came very near it: and Roger Bacon, another Benedictine †, had many years before taken notice of the great explosions produced by saltpetre. But how comes it that the king of France had not cannon in his army, as well as the king of England? If the English had this advantage, what is the reason that the French historians impute the loss of this battle to the Genoese cross-bowmen, whom Philip had in pay? The rain is said to have wetted their bow strings: but why had not the rain the same effect on the English? It would have been better perhaps if those historians had observed, that a king of France, who took Genoese archers into his pay, instead of disciplining his own subjects, and who had no artillery when the enemy had, did not deserve to be victorious.

It is very extraordinary, that whereas the use of gunpowder could not but make an absolute change in the art of war, yet we cannot fix the date of this change. A nation that could procure a good

* He was born at Friburg in Germany, and discovered the use of gunpowder and fire-arms by means of chemical experiments. In a treatise extant among the works of Albertus Magnus, this Berthold Schwartz (or Black, which the word signifies in German) says, he was a Cordelier, and that he invented gunpowder in prison. See Polyd. Virg. de rer. invent. l. 2. c. 11.

† This is a mistake; Roger Bacon was a Franciscan friar, who applied himself chiefly to Astronomy, Chemistry, and the Mathematics. Having made very great discoveries in various sciences, he was accused of magic; but he cleared himself to his general, who summoned him to Rome. He died at Oxford in 1294, aged 78. His *Opus Majus* was printed at London in 1733, in folio. See Leland and Bale de Script. Angl. As also Biograph. Brit.

train of artillery, was sure to be victorious. This of all arts was the most pernicious; and there was the greatest necessity for improving it. Nevertheless, till the reign of Charles VIII, it continued in its infancy; such is the force of inveterate customs, and so slow is the progress of human industry. They did not make use of artillery in sieges till the reign of Charles V king of France; and the spear was their principal weapon, till the latter end of the reign of Henry IV.

It is pretended, that at the battle of Crecy the English had only 2500 horsemen in complete armour, and 40,000 foot; and that the French had 40,000 foot, and very near 3000 gendarms. Those who most diminish the loss on the side of the French, say that it amounted only to 20,000 men. The count de Blois, who had been one of the pretended causes of the war, was killed in this battle; and the day following the troops of the commons of the kingdom were also defeated. Edward, after two victories obtained within two days, took the town of Calais, which the English kept possession of 210 years.

This war, which was carried on at the same time in Guienne, Britany, Normandy, and Picardy, exhausted France and England of men and money. And yet this was not a fit time to destroy mankind for the purposes of ambition: they should rather have united against a scourge of another kind. A deadly pestilence, which had made the circuit of the world, and depopulated Asia and Africa, was lately come to ravage Europe, and especially France and England.

1347,
and
1348.

This pestilence is said to have carried off a fourth part of the human species. It was one of those

those causes that have prevented mankind from multiplying in this part of the world, to that proportion as one would naturally expect.

Mezeray, with many others, says, that this pestilence came from China, and that an exhalation issued out of the earth like a globe of fire, which bursted, and spread its infection over our hemisphere. This is giving a fabulous origin to a real, too real, calamity. In the first place, we never find that a meteor of that sort is productive of the plague. Secondly, the Chinese annals do not make mention of a contagious distemper till towards the year 1504. The plague is properly a distemper that belongs to the center of Africa; as the small-pox to Arabia; and as the poison that infects the source of life, to the Caribbee islands. Every climate has its particular poison on this wretched globe, where nature has chequered good and evil. This pestilence of the fourteenth century was like those which depopulated the earth under Justinian, and at the time of Hippocrates. It was while this scourge spread itself with the greatest violence, that Edward and Philip strove to reign over agonizing bodies.

After such a long series of calamities, after the elements and human passions had conspired to desolate the earth, it is surprising that Europe should be still in so flourishing a condition. The only resource of the human species was in a few towns, which were despised by the great sovereigns. Commerce and industry has insensibly repaired the mischief done by those princes. England, under Edward III, was richly indemnified for the treasure expended by her monarch in his military expeditions: she sold her wool, and Bruges worked

it up. The Flemings employed themselves in manufactures ; the Hanse towns formed a republic most serviceable to mankind ; and the arts were supported in the free trading cities of Italy. These arts want only to shoot up to maturity : as soon as the great storms blow over, they are transplanted, as it were, of themselves, to the ravaged provinces that stand in need of their assistance.

Under these circumstances died Philip of Valois ; a prince who was far from carrying to his tomb the title of *Fortunate*. Yet he had united 1349. Dauphiné to the crown a little before his death. The last prince of this country having lost his children *, and being tired of the wars which he had waged against Savoy, gave the province of Dauphiné to the king of France in 1349, and put on the Dominican habit at Paris.

This province was called Dauphiné, because one of its sovereigns had quartered a dauphin in his arms. It constituted part of the kingdom of Arles, which was an Imperial domain. By this acquisition the king of France became a feudatory to the emperor Charles IV. That the emperors asserted their rights to this province till the reign of Maximilian I, is very certain : and the German civilians pretend it ought to be still a dependance of the empire. The sovereigns think otherwise. Nothing is more ridiculous than these researches : they might as well pretend to assert the rights of the German emperors to Egypt, because it had been subject to Augustus.

* The name of this prince was Humbert II. He was the last of the house of La tour du Pin ; and died in 1355.

Philip of Valois made a further addition of Roussillon and Sardinia to his dominions, by lending money to the king of Majorca, of the house of Arragon, who gave him these provinces as a security; provinces which Charles VIII afterwards restored, without being reimbursed. He likewise acquired Montpellier, which the crown has preserved ever since. It is very surprising, that during so unfortunate a reign, he was able to purchase these provinces, and likewise to pay a great sum for *Dauphiné*. The duty upon salt, which was called the *Salic law* *, the raising of the land-tax, the debasing of the coin, enabled him to make these purchases. The state was enlarged, but impoverished; and though this prince had once the name of *Fortunate*, his people could never pretend to this title. Yet in the reign of his son John they had reason to regret the time of Philip of Valois.

But the event most interesting to the people, during this reign, was *the appeal to a general council*, which the parliament introduced gradually, by the care of the solicitor-general Peter Cugniers. The clergy made loud complaints against this usage, but the king was pleased to connive at it, and not to oppose a remedy by which his authority and the laws of the states were preserved. This appeal to a general council, thrown in by the parliaments of the kingdom, is used as a complaint against unjust or undue sentences pronounced by the ecclesiastic courts,

* Edward III, king of England, used to call Philip of Valois by way of joke, *the author of the Salic law*. Yet Henault observes, that Philip the Long was the first who laid a duty on salt.

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as a denunciation of encroachments on the regal jurisdiction, as an opposition to those papal bulls which may be contrary to the rights and privileges of the king and his subjects.

This remedy, or rather palliative, was only a faint imitation of the famous statute of *Premunire*, made in the reign of Edward III; a law which ordains that whosoever sues another in the spiritual court, for any thing that may be determined by the temporal magistrate, shall be imprisoned. The English have often shewn the way to other nations, in matters regarding the liberties of the people.



C H A P. LXIV.

Of France during the reign of king John.

THE reign of king John was still more unfortunate than that of Philip. John, who was surnamed the Good, began his reign with ordering the count d'Eu, constable of France, to be assassinated in his own palace: and soon after his cousin and son-in-law, the king of Navarre, caused the new constable to be murdered. This king of Navarre, Charles *the Little*, son of Lewis X, king of Navarre in right of his mother, and prince of the blood by his father's side, was one of the scourges of France as well as king John, and soon merited the title of *Charles the Bad*.

1335. The king having been obliged to pardon him in full parliament, arrested him afterwards for crimes of an inferior kind, and without any form
of

of trial caused four lords of his party to be beheaded. Such cruel executions were the consequence of a weak government. This was productive of cabals, which were attended with severe punishments, and these with repentance.

John, who was called the *Good*, began his reign with reviving the base coin which had been current in his father's time, and threatened to put the officers to death, who were intrusted with the secret. This abuse was the effect, and at the same time a proof of most calamitous times. Misfortunes and abuses at length called out for laws. France for some time had the same form of government as England. The kings summoned the states-general, who were substituted to the ancient parliaments of the nation. These states were like the English parliaments, composed of the nobility, the bishops, and deputies of the towns : and the new parliament residing at Paris, was very near the same thing as the court of king's-bench at London. The chancellor was the second officer of the crown in both kingdoms ; in England he was the speaker of the house of lords, and had a jurisdiction over the king's-bench. In France the chancellor's authority was the same ; and what evidently demonstrates that the same principles of government were established both at Paris and in London, was, that the states-general, in 1355, made John king of France sign almost the same regulations, and the same charter as had been signed by John king of England. The subsidies, their duration, and the value of money, were all settled by that assembly. The king engaged never to compel his subjects to furnish his family with provisions, not to
make

make use of their carriages or beds without paying for them, nor to alter the coin, &c.

These states-general of 1355, the most memorable that were ever held, are taken very little notice of by our historians. Father Daniel says no more of them than that they were held in the hall of the new parliament. He ought to have added, that the parliament was not perpetual at that time, and had no seat in this great assembly. In fact, the provost of the merchants of Paris, as the natural deputy of the first city in the kingdom, spoke in the name of the third estate. But a very essential point of history, upon which they have been intirely silent, is, that those states laid a subsidy of about a hundred and ninety thousand marks of silver, to pay thirty thousand gendarms; that is, nine millions five hundred thousand livres of our present currency. Those thirty thousand gendarms composed at least an army of fourscore thousand men, which was to be joined by the commons of the kingdom; and when the year expired, they were to raise a new subsidy for the support of the same army. We must conclude with observing, that this kind of great charter was only a transient regulation, whereas that of England proved a lasting fundamental law.

But at length the Black Prince, with a small but formidable army, advanced towards Poitiers, and ravaged all that country which had formerly belonged to his ancestors. King John marched against him with an army of very near 60,000 men. It is well known, that if the French king had declined coming to an engagement, he might have starved the whole English army.

If

If the Black Prince committed a fault in venturing too far, king John was guilty of a much greater one in attacking him. This battle of Maupertuis or Poitiers, very much resembled that ^{1356.} in which Philip of Valois was defeated. There was great order in the Black Prince's little army; the French were only brave: but the valour of the English, and of the Gascoons, who served under the prince of Wales, carried the day. There is no mention made of any cannon in either of the armies. This silence of historians gives us room to doubt whether there was any at Crecy; or it shews, that having had little or no effect at that battle, it was discontinued; or it proves how tenacious mankind are of ancient usages, so as even to neglect new advantages; or, in short, it demonstrates the neglect of cotemporary historians. The chief of the nobility of France were slain; the rest ran away; and the king being wounded in the face was taken prisoner with one of his sons. It is a circumstance worthy of notice, that this monarch surrendered to one of his subjects, whom he had banished, and who was now in the enemy's service. The same thing happened afterwards to Francis I. The Black Prince conducted both his prisoners to Bourdeaux, from whence they were conveyed to London. It is well known with what politeness he treated the captive king; a moderation which added new lustre to his glory. He made his entrance into London upon a little black horse, and rode on the left hand of his prisoner, who was mounted on a steed remarkable for his beauty and fine trappings.

The

The king's confinement produced a civil war in the city of Paris ; every ambitious person thinking then to form a party. Under a pretence of reformation factions were established. Charles, Dauphin of France, who was afterwards the wise king Charles V, was declared regent, and saw almost the whole kingdom revolt against him.

Paris at that time began to be a formidable city ; it contained 50,000 men able to bear arms. It was then they invented the use of chains in the streets, which served for a barrier against the seditious. Charles the Dauphin was obliged to recal the king of Navarre, whom the king his father had sent to prison ; and this indeed was letting his enemy loose against himself.

x357. The king of Navarre arrives at Paris to blow the coals of sedition. Marcel, the provost of the merchants of Paris, enters the Louvre, followed by the malecontents ; and causes Robert of Clermont, marshal of France, together with the marshal of Champagne, to be massacred in the presence of the Dauphin. In the mean time the peasants tumultuously assemble from all parts, and in the general confusion attack every gentleman they meet with, behaving towards them with the same licentious fury as rebel-slaves behave towards rigid masters, whom they have been so fortunate as to overpower. By a thousand barbarities they console themselves for their mean condition and misery, carrying their fury so far as to roast a nobleman in his castle, and to compel his wife and his daughters to eat the flesh.

In the midst of these convulsions, Charles of Navarre aspired to the crown ; and the Dauphin
and

and he waged war against each other, which ended only in a dissembled peace. France was thus rent in pieces for the space of four years after the battle of Poitiers. How comes it that Edward and the prince of Wales did not take advantage of their victory, and of the misfortunes of the conquered? It seems as if the English were afraid of the grandeur of their prince, and therefore were slow in their supplies: hence Edward was treating about the ransom of his prisoner, while the Black Prince was concluding a truce.

It appears to me that there were faults committed on all sides. But we cannot conceive how all our historians should have the simplicity to affirm, that king Edward III going to reap the benefit of the two victories of Crecy and Poi-^{1360.} tiers, and advancing within a few leagues of Paris, was suddenly seized with a sacred horror, in consequence of a dreadful storm; upon which he flung himself upon his knees, and made a vow to the Virgin Mary that he would grant a peace. The will of conquerors, or the fate of kingdoms, have been seldom determined by storms; and if Edward III made such a vow to the Virgin Mary, it was certainly a very good vow to him. He demanded for the king's ransom, Poitou, Saintonge, Agenois, Perigord, Limousin, Quercy, Angoumois, Rouvergue, and all that he had possessed himself of in the neighbourhood of Calais, the whole in full sovereignty: besides three millions of crowns. I am surprized he did not likewise insist upon Normandy and Anjou his ancient patrimony.

By this treaty Edward ceded to John the title of king of France, and his rights to Normandy,
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Tourraine, and Anjou. It is true, that the ancient demesnes which the English kings possessed in France, were much more considerable than what was yielded to them by this peace ; yet even this was a fourth part of the kingdom. At length John was released after four years confinement, upon delivering up his brother, and two of his sons, as hostages. One of the greatest difficulties was to pay the ransom ; for it was stipulated that he should remit 600,000 crowns for the first payment. France was then exhausted, and could not furnish the money ; so that they were obliged to recal the Jews, and to sell them the privilege of living and trading in the country. The king himself was obliged to pay for the necessaries of his household, in leather money, in the middle of which there was a little nail of silver. His poverty and misfortunes stripped him of all authority, and the kingdom of all sort of good government.

The disbanded soldiers, and the peasants who had learnt something of the art of war, formed themselves into parties in the different provinces, but especially beyond the Loire. One of their chiefs took the name of the *friend of God, and enemy to all the world*. A burgher of Sens, named John of Gouge, was declared king by these banditti, and did almost as much mischief by his depredations, as the lawful king had done by his unfortunate enterprizes. At length, what is most surprising, the king in the midst of this general desolation went to Avignon, where the popes then resided, to revive the ancient projects of the crusades.

A king

A king of Cyprus was come to solicit this expedition against the Turks, who had already broke into Europe. Probably king John thought only of quitting his native country; but instead of going to make this chimerical expedition against the Turks, finding himself unable to discharge the remainder of his ransom to the English, he returned to London to surrender himself up as hostage in the place of his brother and his children. There he died, and his ransom was never paid. To ^{1363.} complete his humiliation, it is said, that the motive of his return to England was to see a woman, whom he fell in love with at the age of fifty-six.

Britany, which had been the cause of this war, was abandoned to its fate. The count of Blois, and the count of Montfort, disputed this province: Montfort having escaped from his confinement at Paris, and Blois from his at London, decided the ^{1364.} quarrel near Avray in a pitched battle. The English still prevailed; and the count of Blois was slain.

This age of barbarousness, sedition, rapine, and murder, was nevertheless the period in which chivalry flourished the most. It served as a counterpoise to the general ferocity of manners. We shall treat of it separately in another place. Its principles were honour, and generosity, joined with gallantry. The most celebrated atchievement in chivalry is the combat of thirty Britons against twenty English, six Britons, and four Germans, at the time when the countess of Blois in her husband's name, and Montfort's widow in her son's name, were waging war against each other in Britany in 1351. The motive of the combat was a point of honour; for it had been resolved

solved upon at a conference held for settling a peace. Instead of negotiating, they challenged; and Beaumanoir, who was at the head of the Britons for the countess of Blois, said, they should fight to see *who had the handsomest mistress*. They fought in an inclosed ground. Of the sixty combatants there were only five knights killed, one on the side of the Britons, and four English. This confirms an observation we made before, that a complete suit of armour rendered them almost invulnerable, and that it was much easier to throw a knight upon the ground, than to kill him. All these achievements of chivalry availed nothing; and especially were no remedy against the want of discipline in the troops, and of order in the civil administration. If the Paulus Emilius's and the Scipio's had encountered thus to decide which had the fairest mistress, the Romans would never have been the conquerors and legislators of the world.

At the time when Charles V, surnamed the Wise, came to the crown, he found the kingdom in a most exhausted and desolate condition; so that he was obliged to have recourse to patience, to intrigues, and to negotiations, before he could repair the mischiefs which had arisen from his father's misfortunes. But the Black Prince being now absolute master of Guienne, which his father Edward had resigned to him in full sovereignty as a reward for his valour, soon added new glory to that which he had acquired by the victories of Crecy and Poitiers.

C H A P. LXV.

Of the Black Prince, the king of Castile, Don Pedro the Cruel, and the constable du Guesclin.

CASTILE was almost in as miserable a condition as France: Peter or Don Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, who sat upon that throne, is represented to us as a tiger that thirsted after human blood, and that felt a joy in spilling it. I dare affirm, that there is no such character in human nature. Sanguinary men are only such in the transports of revenge, or in the exertion of that horrid policy, which looks upon cruelty as a necessary measure; but no man ever spills blood merely for pleasure.

This prince ascended the throne when he was yet a minor, and in very unfavourable circumstances. His father Alfonso IX. had had seven bastards by his mistress Eleanor of Gusman: these bastards had such considerable settlements, that they defied the royal authority; and their mother, who had still more power than they, insulted the queen dowager. Castile was thus divided between two parties, one who held with the queen-mother, and the other with Eleanor. When the king came to the age of one and twenty, he was obliged to maintain a civil war against the faction of the bastards: he fought, and overcame, and put Eleanor to death to satisfy his mother's revenge. So far he may be said to have been brave but too severe. He then marries Blanche of Bourbon; and the first news he hears concerning his wife, upon her arrival at Valladolid, is, that she is fallen in love with the grand master
of

of St. Jago, one of those very bastards who had waged war against him. I am not ignorant that intrigues of this nature are seldom proved, that a prudent prince in such a case ought rather to pretend ignorance, than to seek for revenge: but after all the king was excusable, since there is still a family in Spain, which boasts of being descended from this adulterous commerce.

Blanche of Bourbon was at least so imprudent as to enter into too close a connection with the faction of the bastards, her husband's enemies. Can we then be surprized, that the king left her in a castle, and consoled himself with other amours?

Don Pedro was then obliged to fight at the same time against the king of Arragon, and against his rebellious brothers: but victory still followed him; and indeed he made a cruel use of it. He seldom forgave; so that his relations who had appeared in arms against him, were sacrificed to his resentment: in fine, he ordered this grand master of St. Jago to be put to death. This is all that he did to deserve the surname of Cruel; whereas John, king of France, who had murdered the constable of France, and four Norman lords, was called John the Good.

During these troubles the wife of Don Pedro died; and as she had been guilty of crimes, it was of course said that she died by poison. But once more I say it, that we ought not to bring this charge without sufficient proof.

Doubtless it was the interest of the enemies of Don Pedro, to have it spread all over Europe that his wife died of poison. Henry of Transmare, one of those bastards, who had his brother's and

his mother's death to revenge, and likewise his own interests to maintain, availed himself of this conjuncture. France was at that time infested by those united banditti, called *Malandrins*, who did all the mischief which Edward had not been able to commit. Henry of Transamare entered into a treaty with Charles V. king of France, to free the kingdom from those robbers, and to take them into his service. The king of Arragon, constantly an enemy to the Castilian, promised to grant them a passage. Bertrand du Guesclin, a knight of great reputation, who only sought for an occasion to distinguish himself, engaged the *Malandrins* to acknowledge him as their chief, and to follow him to Castile. This enterprise of Bertrand du Guesclin has been considered as an holy action, which he is said to have performed for the good of his soul; a holy action, which consisted in leading a gang of robbers, to assist a rebel against a cruel but legitimate king.

Passing by Avignon, du Guesclin happened to want money to pay his troops; upon which he demanded a considerable sum of the pope and his court, and obliged them to pay it. This indeed was a necessary extortion; but I dare not mention the name they would have given it, if it had not been made at the head of a body of men which might pass for an army.

The bastard Henry assisted by these troops, which had increased in their march, and likewise supported by Arragon, began with causing himself to be proclaimed king in the town of Burgos. Don Pedro thus attacked by the French, had recourse to the Black Prince their conqueror. This prince, who was sovereign of Guienne,
and

and consequently must have beheld with a jealous eye the success of the French arms in Spain, through interest and honour espoused the justest side. He marched into Spain with his Gascoons, and some English; and soon on the banks of the Ebro near the village of Navarette, was fought the bloody battle of that name between Don Pedro and the Black Prince on the one side, and Henry of Transamare and du Guesclin on the other. The Black Prince here acquired more glory than at Crecy and Poitiers, because the battle was longer disputed. His victory was complete; for he took Bertrand du Guesclin, and the marshal of Andrehen, prisoners, who would surrender to none but him. Henry of Transamare was obliged to fly to Arragon, and the Black Prince re-established Don Pedro on the throne. Don Pedro treated several of the rebels with a severity which the laws of all governments authorize by the name of justice: in short, he used the unhappy right of revenging himself in its full extent. The Black Prince had not only the glory of restoring him to his crown, but likewise of putting a stop to his cruelties; and indeed he is next to Alfred the hero, whom the English hold most in veneration.

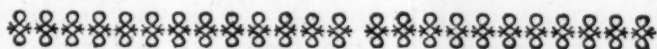
1368.

As soon as the prince who supported Don Pedro had retired, and Bertrand du Guesclin had paid his ransom, the bastard of Transamare revived the party of the malecontents, and Bertrand du Guesclin, who was secretly employed by king Charles V. began to raise new troops.

On Transamare's side were Arragon, the rebels of Castile, and the French succours: Don Pedro had not only the best part of the Castilians with

with him, but also Portugal, and the Moors of Spain: but these new allies rendered him more odious, without being of much service to him. Transamare and du Guesclin having no longer the genius and fortune of the Black Prince to contend with, gained at length a complete victory in the neighbourhood of Toledo. Don Pedro, 63. retired after his defeat to a castle, which they laid siege to; and endeavouring to make his escape, he was taken prisoner by a French gentleman, named le Begue de Vilaines. Upon being led to this knight's tent, the first object he saw, was the count of Transamare; when transported with rage, he flew, though disarmed, at his brother, who with a poniard immediately put an end to his life.

Thus perished Don Pedro at the age of thirty four, and with him ended the race of Castile. His enemy came to the crown without any other right than that of the sword: and from him descended the kings of Castile, who reigned in Spain, till Joan transferred this sceptre to the house of Austria, by marrying Philip the Fair, father of Charles V.



C H A P. LXVI.

*Of France and England, during the reign of
Charles V.*

THE policy of Charles V. by degrees saved France from ruin: while the necessity of weakening the conquerors, Edward III. and the
VOL. II. H Black

Black Prince, seemed to justify his proceedings. He took advantage of the father's old age, and of the sickly state of the son, who was attacked with a dropfy, of which he died in 1376. He soon knew how to sow division between the sovereign prince of Guienne and his vassals; to elude treaties; to refuse to pay the remainder of his father's ransom upon plausible pretences; to ingratiate himself with the new king of Castile, and even with that king of Navarre, Charles, surnamed the Bad, who had so large an estate in France; to stir up the new king of Scotland, Robert Stuart, against the English; to restore order in the finances; to make the people contribute to the public expence without murmuring; in fine, to have the same success without stirring out of his closet, as king Edward who had crossed the sea and gained such signal victories.

As soon as he saw all his engines ready, he took one of those bold steps, which might pass for temerity in politics, were they not justified by the prudence of his measures, and the prospect of the event. He sent a knight and a judge of Toulouse to summon the Black Prince to appear before him in the court of peers, in order to account for his conduct. This was behaving as lord paramount to the conqueror of his father and grandfather, who was possessed of Guienne and the neighbouring parts in full sovereignty by right of conquest, as well as by solemn treaty. He was not only cited as a subject, but an arret of parliament was likewise issued out, by which Guienne was confiscated, together with every thing in France belonging to the house of England. It was the custom to send a herald to declare war;

war; but this ceremony was now performed by a livery servant, whom they sent to London: a proof that Edward was no longer formidable.

The irregularity of these proceedings was in some measure dignified by the valour and abilities of Bertrand du Guesclin, now become constable of France, and especially by the good order established by Charles V. in every part of the realm, which shewed that in public affairs glory is ever on the side of utility.

The Black Prince was hindered by his languishing state of health, from taking the field; and besides his father sent him but weak supplies: hence the English, who had been victorious before that time in every battle, were now beaten on all sides. Bertrand du Guesclin, without obtaining such signal victories as those of Crecy and Compiegne, made exactly such a campaign as that by which in these latter times viscount Turenne gained the character of the greatest general in Europe. He fell upon the English quarters in Maine and Anjou, defeated all their parties one ^{1370.} after the other, and took even their general Grandson, prisoner. He reduced Poitou and Saintonge, under the obedience of France. The towns all surrendered, some by force, others by intrigue. The elements likewise fought for Charles V. The English had equipped a formidable fleet, which was kept back by contrary winds. Truces had been artfully negotiated, and every thing seemed to promise new successes.

Charles, who twenty years before was not ^{1378.} master of money sufficient to maintain his guards, had now five armies and a fleet. His ships of war insulted the English on their own coast,

where they landed some troops and committed great outrages, which after the death of Edward III. England took no care to revenge. That crown had nothing left but the towns of Bourdeaux, and Calais, with a few fortresses.

Then it was that France lost Bertrand du Guesclin. What honour the king rendered to this general's memory, is well known: he was the first, I think, that had a funeral oration pronounced in his praise; and none but he and viscount Turenne were ever interred in the church designed for the burying-place of the kings of France. His body was carried with the same ceremony as if he had been a sovereign. Four princes of the blood followed the bier. His horses, pursuant to the custom of the times, were presented in church to the bishop who officiated on the occasion, and gave them his blessing with imposition of hands. These particulars are of no importance in themselves; but they show the spirit of chivalry. The regard paid to celebrated knights for their exploits and military achievements, extended even to their horses which they rode in time of battle. Charles soon followed him; he was said to have died by a slow poison, which had been given him above ten years before, and finally wasted him at the age of forty four; just as if there were any aliments in nature that could deprive people of life at the expiration of a certain time. I own that a poison which has not been strong enough to produce instant death, will leave a languishment in the body, the same as every violent disease; but it is not true that it will produce those slow effects, which the vulgar think inevitable. The real poison which killed Charles V. was a bad constitution. It

It is well known that the majority of the kings of France was fixed by this prince at the age of fourteen ; and that this wise ordinance, though ineffectual in regard to the preventing of disturbances, was registered at a bed of justice in 1374.^{1374.} He was desirous of abolishing the ancient abuse of private wars between the great lords, an abuse which was looked upon as a law of the state. These wars were prohibited under his reign, when he came to be master : he even forbid the wearing of arms ; but the execution of this law was at that time impossible.

The treasure which he amassed, is said to have amounted to seventeen millions of livres. It is certain, that he had accumulated money, and that the whole fruit of his œconomy was lost and squandered away by his brother the duke of Anjou in the unfortunate expedition to Naples.

After the death of Edward III, the conqueror of France, and of Charles V, the restorer of that same kingdom, it evidently appeared that the superiority of a nation depends intirely on those who have the conducting of it.

Richard II, son of the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather Edward III, when he was only eleven years of age ; and some time after Charles VI ascended the throne of France at the age of twelve. These two minorities did not prove happy ; but England had the first reason to complain.

We have seen with what frenzy and madness the peasants of France were possessed under king John : and how in their vexation and misery they wreaked their vengeance upon all the gentlemen they could find, who indeed were their oppressors. The

1381. same madness seized the English. It seemed as if such another war was going to break out, as that which the Romans were heretofore obliged to wage against their slaves. A tiler and a priest did as much mischief in England, as the quarrels between the king and parliament are ever capable of producing. They assembled the people of three counties, and easily persuaded them, that the rich had long enough enjoyed the goods of the earth, and that it was now time for the poor to take their revenge. They led them directly to London, plundered part of the city, and caused the archbishop of Canterbury and the high treasurer to be beheaded. It is true this madness ended with the death of the chiefs, and the dispersion of the revolted: but such tempests, which were common in Europe, plainly shew what wretched government prevailed at that time. They were far from having attained the real end of politics, which consists in connecting the several orders of people, and making them act in concert for the public good.

It may be said, that the English at that time did not better understand the prerogatives of their kings, nor the privileges of their parliaments. Richard II, at the age of eighteen, wanted to be despotic; and the English to be too free: this soon produced a civil war. In most countries, civil broils prove fatal to conspirators; but in England they are fatal to kings. Richard, after struggling ten years with his subjects about his authority, was deserted at length by his own party. His cousin the duke of Lancaster, grandson of Edward III, who had been for some time in exile, returned to England with three ships only. He had no
need

need of a greater force: the whole nation declared in his favour. Richard II demanded only that they would spare his life, and grant him a pension for his subsistence.

A parliament was called, in which this prince was solemnly deposed: they confined him to the Tower, where he resigned to the duke of Lancaster the ensigns of royalty by a writing signed with his own hand, in which he acknowledged himself unfit to reign. He was so indeed, since he could be mean enough to make such a confession.

Thus this very same century beheld two kings of England, viz. Edward II. and Richard II, the emperor Wenceslaus and pope John XXIII, all four solemnly deposed, tried and condemned with the forms of justice.

The English parliament having confined their king, declared, that in case of any attempt to restore him, he should be judged worthy of death. Upon the first rising in his favour, eight ruffians went and assassinated the king in prison. Richard defended his life better than he had done his throne; he snatched the battle-ax from one of his murderers, and killed four of them before he was overpowered. The duke of Lancaster ascended the throne by the name of Henry IV: during his reign England was neither quiet nor in a capacity to undertake any thing against France; but his son Henry V. brought about the greatest revolution that had happened since the time of Charlemaign.

C H A P. LXVII.

Of king Charles VI. and the fresh invasion of France by Henry V. king of England.

PART of the care which king Charles V had taken to retrieve the losses of France, was exactly the very thing that hastened its ruin. The treasures which he had amassed, were squandered away; and the heavy taxes which had been raised in his reign, alienated the affections of the people. It is mentioned that this prince spent for his whole family fifteen hundred gold marks a year. His brothers at the time they were regents of the kingdom, spent seven thousand for Charles VI, then but thirteen years of age, and who notwithstanding this great profusion wanted necessaries. Such details as these should not be despised, they are the secret cause of the ruin of states, as well as of families.

Lewis of Anjou, the same who was adopted by Joan I, queen of Naples, one of the uncles of Charles VI, not satisfied with embezzling his pupil's treasure, laid the most heavy exactions upon the people. Paris, Rouen, and most of the towns rose up in arms; and the same madness which afterwards depopulated Paris in the minority of Lewis XIV, seemed to rage under Charles VI. The private and public executions on this occasion were as cruel, as the insurrection had been outrageous. The great schism of the papal see, of which we have already taken notice, added to the disorder. The popes of Avignon who were acknowledged in France, fleeced the kingdom by every stratagem that avarice under the cloak of religion can invent. The people still
flattered

flattered themselves, that when the king came of age, he would redress these grievances by a better administration.

He had in person revenged the cause of his¹³⁸⁴ vassal, the earl of Flanders, upon the rebel Flemings, who were always supported by England. He had taken advantage of the troubles, into which that island was plunged under Richard II. A fleet of above twelve hundred sail was fitted out, to make a descent upon the English coast. This number ought not to appear incredible; St. Lewis had more. True it is these were only transport vessels; yet the expedition with which this fleet was equipped, is a demonstration that there was more timber fit for shipping in those days than there is at present, and that the people were not void of industry. The jealousy which the king's uncles had of each other, hindered the fleet from being employed. It only served to shew what resources France might have under a good government, since it was capable of such mighty enterprizes, notwithstanding that the duke of Anjou had drained the kingdom of such prodigious treasure, for his unfortunate expedition to Naples.

At length the people seemed to have some respite, when the king set out for Britany, to chastise the duke, of whom France had reason to complain. But unfortunately the king was at this very juncture seized with a terrible frenzy, a distemper which used to begin with a drowsiness, followed by a loss of his understanding, and ending at length in a fit of madness. When he was first seized with this fit, he killed four men, and continued striking every person about him, till

exhausted by these convulsive motions, he fell into a profound lethargy.

I am not surprized, that all France thought him poisoned and bewitched. There have been instances even in the present age, notwithstanding its improvement in knowledge, of popular prejudices altogether as unjust. His brother, the duke of Orleans, had married Valentina of Milan; and this lady was charged with being the cause of the king's misfortune: which proves only that the French were very ignorant in those days, and imagined the Italians to be more knowing than themselves.

1393. This suspicion some time afterwards increased by an adventure worthy of the rudeness of those times. There was a masquerade at court, at which the king appeared in the disguise of a satyr dragging four other satyrs in chains. They were all dressed in linen daubed over with rosin, to which they had fastened some coarse flax and hemp. The duke of Orleans had the ill luck of running his torch against one of those habits, which took fire in an instant. The four lords were burnt, and with difficulty was the king's life preserved by the presence of mind of his sister-in-law, the duchess of Berry, who wrapped him in her mantua. This accident caused a return of one of his fits: perhaps he might have been cured by bleeding, bathing, and a proper regimen; but they sent for a forcerer to Montpelier. The forcerer came; and the king was a little better, which they did not fail to attribute to the power of magic. By frequent relapses the disease was soon increased to that degree, as to become incurable. To complete the misery of France, the
king

king had now and then some lucid intervals, without which they might have provided for the government of the kingdom: thus the little share of reason he enjoyed, proved more fatal to his subjects than his fits: the states were never called; nor was there any regulation made for the public administration. The king remained king, intrusting his feeble authority and the care of his person sometimes to his brother, and at other times to his uncles. It was a terrible misfortune to the state, that the appanages of those princes were very considerable. In consequence thereof, Paris became a scene of civil war, which was sometimes confined to secret underminings, and sometimes broke out into open hostilities.

Every body must have heard that John duke of Burgundy caused his cousin the duke of Orleans to be assassinated in the *rue barbette*; and the king had neither understanding nor power enough to bring the guilty to justice. In the mean time the duke of Burgundy vouchsafed to take out letters of grace; and came to court to triumph in his crime. Here he assembled all the princes and grandees, and in the presence of them all, doctor John Petit not only justified the murder of the duke of Orleans, but likewise established the doctrine of *assassination*, on the example of the various murders, which are mentioned in the historical books of scripture. He presumed to lay down as a doctrine, what is mentioned in those books only as an historical event, instead of informing mankind, as he ought to have done, that an assassination mentioned in scripture, is as detestable as if it had been in the history of the most barbarous savages, or of the times now be-

fore us. This doctrine was condemned, as we have seen, in the council of Constance, and yet has been since revived.

1409. It was about this very time that the marshal of Boucicaut lost the city of Genoa, which had put herself under the protection of France. The French were massacred there as in Sicily. The flower of the French nobility, who went to signalize themselves in Hungary against Bajazet the Turkish emperor, were slain in battle, and the Christians unfortunately defeated. But these foreign calamities were nothing in comparison to those of the state.
- 1410.

The queen, Isabella of Bavaria, had a party in Paris, the duke of Burgundy had his, and the children of the duke of Orleans had another, which was very considerable. The poor king had no party at all. But what shews the importance of Paris, and that it was considered as the *primum mobile* of the kingdom, the duke of Burgundy, who beside the dutchy from which he took his title, was also sovereign of Flanders and Artois, still placed his whole ambition in being master of that capital. The faction of the duke of Burgundy was called the Burgundian, and that of Orleans went by the name of Armagnac, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to the duke of Orleans, son of him who was assassinated at Paris. Which ever had the upper hand, took care to hang, to assassinate, or to burn all those of the contrary faction. No body could be sure of their lives for a day. They fought in the streets, in the churches, in the houses, and in the fields.

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This was a very good opportunity for England to recover her ancient patrimony in France, as well as that which had been ceded to her by treaties. Henry V, a prince of equal prudence and courage, negotiated, and prepared for war at the same time. At length he made a descent upon Normandy with an army of near 50,000 men: here he took Harfleur, and advanced in-^{1415.} to a country wasted by factions; but a contagious dysentery carried off three fourths of his army. This great invasion, however, reunited all parties against the English; even the duke of Burgundy, though he had already been privately treating with the king of England, sent 500 men in armour with some cross-bow men to the assistance of his country. All the nobility mounted on horseback, and the commoners marched under their banners; so that the constable d'Albret was soon at the head of 60,000 fighting men. Henry V. had the same success in this expedition as Edward III: but the principal resemblance was in the battle of Agincourt, which was exactly like that of Crecy. The English obtained the victory almost as soon as the engagement began. Their great bows six feet high, which they were very dexterous in bending, decided the contest immediately in their favour. They had neither artillery nor fuses, which is a further reason to think that they had had none at the battle of Crecy. Perhaps these bows are a more formidable weapon: I have seen some that will carry much further than fuses; they may likewise be used quicker, and longer. And yet they are intirely laid aside. We may further observe, that the French gendarmes fought on foot at Agincourt,

court, Crecy, and Poitiers; who before used to be invincible on horseback. Upon this memorable day there happened a thing most horrible even in war. While the armies were still engaged, some of the militia of Picardy were going to plunder the English camp: upon which, Henry gave orders to his men to kill all the prisoners they had taken; these were accordingly put to the sword; and after this slaughter the English took 14,000 more, whose lives were spared. Seven princes of France were slain this day together with the constable; five princes were taken prisoners, and upwards of 10,000 French were left on the field of battle.

One would think that after so complete a victory they had nothing further to do than to march up to Paris, and to subdue a divided, exhausted, ruined kingdom. But even in this ruinous state it had some strength left. In short, it is a certain fact, that from this battle of Agincourt, which put all France into mourning, and which did not cost the English three men of any note, the victors reaped no other fruit than glory. Henry was obliged to return to England in order to raise money and new troops.

The spirit of giddiness, which had seized the French nation as much as their king, did more mischief than the defeat of Agincourt. Two Dauphins were now dead, and the third, afterwards Charles VII. and who was only sixteen years old, endeavoured to save the remains of this great wrack. The queen his mother had extorted letters patent from her husband, by which she was intrusted with the reins of the state. She was covetous, ambitious, and addicted to gallantry.

try. The treasure of which she had plundered the kingdom and her husband, was deposited in several places, but especially in the churches: the Dauphin and the Armagnacs who had discovered this money, applied it to the pressing wants of the state. To this affront which she received from her son, the king added another of a more sensible nature. One evening as he went to the queen's apartment, he met the lord of Boisbourdon, who was coming out; and he ordered him immediately to be seized. Boisbourdon was put to the torture, fown into a sack, and thrown into the Seine. The queen was directly sent prisoner to Blois, and from thence to Tours, without being suffered to see her husband. It was this accident, and not the battle of Agincourt, that put the crown of France on the king of England's head. The queen applied for assistance to the duke of Burgundy, who gladly embraced this occasion of establishing his authority on the public calamities.

The duke released the queen from her confinement at Tours, ravaged the country upon his march, and at length concluded an alliance with the king of England. Without this alliance there would have been no revolution. Henry V. assembles an army of 25,000 men, and lands a second time in Normandy. From thence he advances towards Paris, while John duke of Burgundy posts himself at the gates of this city, where a stupid senseless king is left a prey to every sedition. The duke of Burgundy's faction in one day massacre the constable of Armagnac, the archbishops of Rheims and Tours, five prelates, the abbot of St. Denis, and forty magistrates.

magistrates. The queen and the duke of Burgundy enter Paris in triumph in the midst of the slaughter. The Dauphin is obliged to fly beyond the Loire, and Henry V. becomes master of all
1418. Normandy. Not only the party which still held for the king, but likewise the queen, the duke of Burgundy, and the Dauphin, were all in treaty at the same time with the king of England, and of every side endeavouring to circumvent each other.

1419. The young Dauphin, who was at that time governed by Tanguy du Chastel, at length concerted that unhappy interview with the duke of Burgundy on the bridge of Montereau. Each of them met attended with ten knights; and Tanguy du Chastel slew the duke of Burgundy in the presence of the Dauphin: thus the murder of the duke of Orleans was at length revenged by another murder; so much the more detestable, as it was blended with the violation of public faith.

One would be almost tempted to think that this murder was not premeditated, so ill had they concerted their measures for supporting the consequences of it. Philip the Good, the new duke of Burgundy, who succeeded his father, was of course the Dauphin's enemy through duty as well as politics. The affront the Dauphin had offered to his mother, rendered her as implacable as a step-mother; while the king of England availing himself of these horrid circumstances, proclaimed every where that God had led him by the hand to punish the iniquity of the French. Then it was that Isabella of Bavaria and the new duke Philip concluded a peace at Troyes, more fatal to France than all the preceding wars, whereby Catharine, daughter of Charles VI, was given away

away in marriage to the king of England, together with France for her dowry.

It was there agreed that Henry V should be acknowledged as king, but that he should only take upon him the title of Regent during the remainder of the unhappy life of the king of France, who was grown quite a natural. In fine, by the contract it was determined, that the person styling himself the Dauphin, should be pursued with the utmost vigour. Isabella of Bavaria conducted her wretched husband and her daughter to Troyes, where the marriage was consummated. Henry, now king of France, made his entrance into Paris without the least hinderance, and reigned without opposition, while king Charles VI was shut up with his domestics at the Hotel de St. Paul, and queen Isabella already began to repent of her bargain.

Philip duke of Burgundy solemnly demanded justice for the murder of his father, of the two kings at the Hotel de St. Paul, where the few remaining grandees were assembled. Nicholas Raulin, attorney-general of Burgundy, and a doctor of the university, whose name was John Larcher, impeached the Dauphin. The first president of the parliament of Paris, and other deputies from that body, assisted at this assembly. Marigny the solicitor-general made a speech against the presumptive heir and defender of the crown, as if it had been the case of a common assassin. The parliament summoned the Dauphin to what they call the *Marble Table*. This was a large table, which in St. Lewis's reign served to receive the rents or duties which were paid in the nature of vassals of the castle of
the

the Louvre, and remained afterwards as a mark of jurisdiction. The Dauphin was condemned there for non-appearance, and out-lawed *.

This was a most delicate and difficult question, to know who could be the Dauphin's judge, whether the Salic law could be set aside, whether as the murder of the duke of Orleans was not punished, they could inflict any punishment on him who slew the murderer. Long after this, it is known that Philip II put his own son to death. Cosmo I, grand duke of Florence, killed one of his sons, who had assassinated the other. This fact is very true; the veracity of Varillas upon this occasion has been questioned to no purpose; Thuanus gives sufficiently to understand, that he was informed of it upon the spot. In our times the Czar Peter put his son to death. Dreadful examples! but in none of those cases was it ever intended to give away the son's inheritance to a stranger.

The Dauphin retired into Anjou, where he appeared no better than an exile. Henry V, king of France and England, returned to London in order to raise new supplies and new troops. It was not the interest of the English, who have a strong passion for liberty, that their king should be master of France. England would then have been in danger of becoming a province to a foreign kingdom: and after exhausting herself to place her king on the French throne, she might have been enslaved by the forces of the very country which she had conquered, and which would be then at the king's command.

* See chapter lxxii.

Yet Henry soon made his return to Paris with more power than ever. He had treasure and armies at his command, and was also in the flower of life; so that in all human probability the crown of France was likely to be transferred for ever to the house of Lancaster. But all these appearances and hopes were blasted by fate: Henry was seized with a fistula, of which he might have recovered in a more enlightened age: his death was owing to the ignorance of his surgeons: and he resigned his last breath in the castle of Vincennes at the age of thirty four. His body was exposed at St. Denis, as is practised with the kings of France, and afterwards carried to Westminster, where it was interred among the kings of England.

Charles VI, to whom they had out of compassion left the empty title of king, soon after ended his wretched days, after having lived thirty years in continual relapses of frenzy. He died the unhappiest of kings, and king of the unhappiest people in Europe.

The duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V, was the only person who assisted at his funeral. There was not one lord at the ceremony; some of them had been slain at the battle of Agincourt; the rest were prisoners in England; and the duke of Burgundy would not yield the point of precedency to the duke of Bedford. But they were soon obliged to give way to Bedford in every thing, for he was declared regent of France; and Henry VI, son of Henry V, only nine months old, was proclaimed king at Paris and at London. The city of Paris even sent deputies to London, to take the oath of allegiance to this infant.

C H A P. LXVIII.

Of France during the reign of Charles VII.

THIS inundation of the English into France seemed to be like that which had overflowed England in the reign of Lewis VIII; only it lasted longer, and was more violent. Charles VII was under the necessity of recovering his kingdom inch by inch: he had to fight against the duke of Bedford, who was become as absolute as Henry V, and against the duke of Burgundy, who was grown one of the most potent princes in Europe, by the re-union of Hainault, Brabant, and Holland to his demesnes. Besides, Charles had as much to apprehend from his friends as from his foes: most of them insulted his misfortunes to such a degree, that the earl of Richmond, his constable, and brother to the duke of Britany, caused two favourites of his to be strangled.

We may judge of the deplorable situation to which Charles was reduced, by the necessity he found himself under of making the silver mark pass for ninety livres in the country subject to his obedience, instead of half a livre which it was worth in the time of Charlemaign.

He was soon obliged to have recourse to another much stranger expedient, namely, to a miracle. A gentleman of the frontiers of Lorraine, whose name was Baudricourt, saw a young servant maid at an inn in the town of Vaucouleurs, whom he looked upon as a fit person to act the character of an inspired amazon. This Joan of
Arc,

Arc, whom the vulgar take to have been a shepherdess, was indeed no more than an innkeeper's servant, of a robust make, *that could ride*, as Monstrelet says, *without a saddle, and perform other manly exercises which young girls are unaccustomed to*. She was made to pass for a shepherdess of eighteen years of age; and yet it is certain by her own confession, that she was at that time seven and twenty. She had courage and wit sufficient to conduct this delicate enterprize, in which she afterwards shewed herself a heroine. They carried her before the king at Bourges, where she was examined by matrons, who took care to find her a virgin, and by several doctors of the university with some members of the parliament, who without any hesitation declared her inspired: whether it be that they were imposed upon themselves, or that they were artful enough to encourage the cheat. However, the vulgar swallowed the bait, which was sufficient.

At that time the English had laid siege to Orleans¹⁴²⁹, Charles's last resource, and were very near making themselves masters of it. This amazon in man's dress, directed by able officers, undertakes to throw succours into the town. First, she addresses the soldiers on the part of God, and inspires them with that enthusiastical courage, peculiar to all men, who fancy they see the Deity defending their cause. Then she puts herself at their head, delivers Orleans, beats the English, tells Charles that she will see him consecrated at Rheims, and fulfills her promise sword in hand. She assists at the coronation, holding the standard with which she had so bravely fought.

These

These rapid victories, obtained by a girl, together with the appearances of a miracle, and the king's coronation, which conciliated a respect to his person, had very near reinstated the lawful sovereign, and expelled the foreign pretender; when the instrument of all these wonders, Joan of Arc, was wounded and taken in defending Compiègne. The regent Bedford thought it necessary to stigmatize her, in order to revive the drooping courage of the English. She had pretended a miracle, and Bedford pretended to believe she was a witch. My chief aim is always to observe the spirit of the times; it is that which directs the great events of this globe. The university of Paris presented a complaint against Joan of Arc, charging her with heresy and witchcraft: now either the university thought what the Regent would have them think; or if they were not of that opinion, they acted in a base dastardly manner. This heroine, who was worthy of the miracle which she had feigned, was tried at Roan by Cauchon bishop of Beauvais, with five other French bishops, one English bishop, assisted by a Dominican friar, vicar of the inquisition, and by the doctors of the university. She was declared to be "a superstitious prophetess of the devil, a blasphemer against God and his saints, and one that had many ways erred against the faith of Christ. As such she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to fast on bread and water." She made a reply to her judges, which, I think, is deserving of eternal memory. Being asked, why she had dared to assist at the consecration of Charles with his standard? "Because," said she, it is but just, that the person "who

“ who shared in the toil, should also partake of
“ the honour.”

At length being accused of having dressed her-^{1431.}
self once more in men's clothes, which had been
left with her on purpose to tempt her, the judges
who surely had no right to try her, since she was
a prisoner of war, declared her a relapsed heretic;
and without any more ado condemned a person
to the flames, who for having served her king
would have had altars erected to her in those he-
roic times, when mankind were wont to pay di-
vine honours to their deliverers. Charles VII.^{1431.}
afterwards reinstated her memory, which indeed
was sufficiently honoured by her punishment.

Cruelty alone is not sufficient to determine
men to inflict such punishments, they must be
likewise actuated by that spirit of fanaticism,
which is a mixture of superstition and ignorance,
and has been the distemper of all ages. Some
time before the English condemned the dutchess
of Gloucester to public penance in St. Paul's
church, and a lady, a friend of hers, to be burnt
alive, upon pretence of some incantation which
they had used, in order to shorten the king's life.
They likewise burnt lord Cobham as an heretic.
In Britany the same punishment was inflicted on
the marshal de Retz, accused of sorcery, and of
having cut his children's throats to make incanta-
tions with their blood.

While these melancholy times continued, the
communication between the provinces was inter-
rupted, and the people upon the borders were
such strangers to one another, that a few years
after the death of the maid of Orleans, a female
adventurer in Lorrain dared to assume her name,
and

and boldly to assert she had escaped the punishment, for that they had burnt a phantom in her stead. But what is more surprizing, she was believed. Honours and riches were conferred upon her; and a gentleman of the family of Armoises, married her in 1436, thinking himself happy in being joined in wedlock to the real heroine, who though of mean parentage, was at least his equal by her memorable exploits.

During the war, which was rather tedious than decisive, and proved the source of so many calamities, there happened another event, which saved the kingdom of France. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, deserved this name, by at length forgiving the death of his father, and uniting with the head of his family against a foreign invader. He carried this generosity even so far as to deliver the duke of Orleans, the son of him who had been assassinated at Paris, from his long confinement in London. He paid his ransom, which is said to have amounted to three hundred thousand crowns; but exaggeration was an usual thing with the writers of those days. This conduct however is a proof of great virtue. There have been always generous souls even in the abandoned times. This prince's virtues did not exclude the love of pleasure and of the fair sex, which can never be a vice, but when it leads to vicious actions. It is this same Philip, who in the year 1430, instituted the order of the Golden Fleece in honour of one of his mistresses. He had fifteen natural sons, who were all persons of merit. His court was the most magnificent in Europe. Antwerp and Bruges carried on an extensive trade, and diffused plenty throughout his domi-

dominions. France in fine was indebted to him for her peace and grandeur, which increated from that time, notwithstanding her adversities, her foreign and domestic wars.

Charles VII. recovered his kingdom almost in the same manner as Henry IV. conquered it about 150 years afterwards. Charles had not indeed that noble courage, that quick and active mind, nor that heroic disposition which distinguished Henry IV; but like him he was often obliged to keep fair with his foes as well as his friends, to fight with small armies, to take towns, some by surprize, and some by money, till at length he entered Paris in the same manner as Henry IV. afterwards made his entrance, by intrigue and by force. They were both declared incapable of wearing the crown, and they both forgave: they were both guilty of the same weakness, that of neglecting their affairs sometimes, to give themselves up to their pleasures.

Charles did not make his entry into Paris till the year 1437, and it was not till towards 1450 that the English were intirely driven out of France. They preserved nothing but Calais and Guines: and for ever lost all those vast demesnes which their kings had been possessed of by the right of blood, and which they could not secure to their posterity by the three great victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The divisions among the English contributed as much as Charles VII. to the recovery of France. That same Henry VI. who had wore the two crowns, and who even went over to Paris upon the ceremony of his coronation, was deposed at London by his relations, and after ^{1431.} having

1451. having been again restored, was once more cast from the throne.

The peace of France being now fully restored, and Charles in quiet possession of the whole kingdom, he established such order and regularity as had never been seen in that country since the decline of the family of Charlemaign. He kept regular companies of 1500 gendarmes, each of whom was to serve with six horses; so that this troop consisted of nine thousand horsemen. The captain of one hundred men had a thousand seven hundred livres a year, which amounts to about ten thousand livres present currency. Each gendarme had three hundred and sixty livres per annum, and each of the five hundred men that attended him, had four livres per month. He likewise established four thousand five hundred archers, who had that same pay of four livres, that is about four and twenty of our present coin. Thus in times of peace it cost about six millions, present currency, to maintain the standing forces. Things are greatly changed all over Europe. The establishment of archers shews that muskets were not as yet in frequent use. This instrument of destruction was not generally introduced till the reign of Lewis XI.

Besides these troops, who were in constant service, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax: and it is by this exemption, which otherwise was peculiar to the nobility, that such a number of persons soon claimed the title and arms of gentlemen. The possessors of fiefs were dispensed from attending the ban, which was no longer convoked.

voked. Only the arrear-ban, which was composed of the petty rear-vassals, were bound to serve upon occasion.

Many are surprized that after such a series of disasters, France should find such great resources, and so much money. But a fruitful country will be always rich, provided the cultivation of it be not neglected. Civil wars shake the state, but do not destroy it. Murder and ransacking undo some families, but enrich others. Merchants grow more expert in their business, more ingenuity being required to steer clear of danger in such tempestuous times. James Cœur is a strong proof of this maxim. He had established the greatest trade, that had been ever carried on by any private subject in Europe: And since his time Cosmo de Medicis is the only person that equalled him. James Cœur had three hundred factors in Italy and the Levant. He lent two hundred thousand crowns to the king, without which this prince could never have recovered Normandy. His industry in time of peace was of more service, than Dunois and the maid of Orleans had been in time of war. The persecuting so useful a man, is thought to be a great stain to the memory of Charles VII. The motive of this persecution is not known: for who can tell the secret springs of the injustice and iniquity of mankind?

The king ordered him to be sent to prison, and the parliament tried him: all they could prove against him was, that he caused a Christian slave to be restored to his Turkish master, whom this slave had left and betrayed; and that he had sold arms to the sultan of Egypt. For these two

facts, one of which was lawful, and the other meritorious, his estate was confiscated. He found more virtue in his clerks, than in the courtiers who ruined him : the former contributed to relieve him under his misfortunes. James Cœur removed to Cyprus, where he continued to carry on his trade, but never had the courage to return to his ungrateful country, though strongly invited.

However, the close of this prince's reign proved happy enough to France, though very unhappy in regard to the king, whose latter days were embittered by the rebellions of his unnatural son, afterwards Lewis XI.



C H A P. LXIX.

Manners and customs, arts and sciences, towards the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

MY inclination leads me rather to inquire into the state of human society in those days, to discover the manner of living in families, and the cultivation of the arts; than to give a detail of battles and public calamities, the unhappy topic of historians, and the common place of human iniquity.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, and in the beginning of the fourteenth, the Italians, notwithstanding their domestic dissensions, began to shake off that barbarous rust, with which Europe had been covered since the decline of the Roman empire. The necessary arts still subsisted : artificers and merchants whose obscurity preserves them from the ambition and fury of the great, may be compared to ants which silently
make

make their nests, while eagles and vultures tear one another to pieces.

Even those rude ages produced some useful inventions, the effect of that mechanic genius with which nature endows particular men independently of philosophy. For instance, that excellent secret of assisting the enfeebled sight of old people by means of spectacles, was found out by Alexander Spina, towards the end of the thirteenth century. The invention of wind-mills is about the same date: La Flamma, who lived in the fourteenth century, is the first who makes mention of them. But the use of them was known long before to the Greeks and the Arabs; and they are also mentioned by the Arabian poets of the seventh century. The earthen-ware invented at Faenza, was used instead of porcelane. Glass windows had been discovered a long time before; but they were very scarce, and considered as an article of luxury. This art was introduced into England by the French, towards the year 1180, where it was looked upon as a high degree of magnificence.

The Venetians were the only people in the thirteenth century, that had the secret of making looking-glasses of crystal. There were some clocks in Italy; and that of Bologna was particularly famous. The more useful wonder of the compass was entirely owing to chance; but mankind had not sagacity enough at that time to make a proper use of this invention. Paper made of rags was invented towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. Cortusius *, an historian of Pa-

* His name was *Girolamo Cortusi*; he wrote the history of Padua, which was begun by a cousin of his. They both lived in the fourteenth century. See Scardeoni's history of Padua,

dua, takes notice of one *Pax*, who erected the first manufacture in that city upwards of a hundred years before the invention of printing. Thus it is that the useful arts were gradually established, and most of them by obscure persons.

The other parts of Europe were far from having such cities as Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Sienna, Pisa, and Florence. In the towns of France, Germany, and England, they had scarcely any other than thatched houses. The same may be said of the poorer towns in Italy, such as Alexandria * *della paglia*, Nice *della paglia*, &c.

Though they had such large tracts of land overrun with woods, yet they had not as yet learnt to guard against the cold by the means of chimneys, an invention so useful, as well as ornamental to our modern apartments. The custom was for the whole family to sit in the middle of a smoaky hall, round a large stove, the tunnel of which passed through the ceiling.

In the fourteenth century La Flamma, according to the custom of injudicious authors, complains that frugality and simplicity had given way to luxury. He regrets the times of Frederic Barbarossa, and of Frederic II, when in Milan, the capital of Lombardy, they eat flesh meat but three times a week. Wine was very scarce; they had no notion of wax candles, and even those of tallow were deemed luxury. He says,

* *Paglia* in Italian signifies straw. This city is in the dukedom of Milan; it was built about the year 1153 by the partizans of Alexander III, from whom it took its name. Some say that the emperor wanted to have it called *Cæsarea*; but the inhabitants insisting on the name of *Alexandria*; the emperor, out of derision, called it *Alexandria della paglia*, because its buildings were of straw and wood, covered over with mud,

that

that the better sort of inhabitants made use of splinters instead of candles. They had hot meat but three times a week, and wore woollen shirts: the most considerable citizens gave their daughters not above one hundred livres for their portion. But things, continues he, are altered; now we wear linen; the women dress in silk gowns, some of which are embroidered with gold and silver: they have two thousand livres for their fortunes; their ears are likewise adorned with gold pendants. And yet this luxury, of which he so greatly complains, falls short of what in our days is reckoned among the necessaries of the rich and industrious.

Table linen was very scarce in England: and wine was sold only by apothecaries as a cordial. The houses of private people were all of wood in Paris as well as in London. It was reckoned a kind of luxury to ride in a two wheel cart through the ill paved dirty streets of Paris, a luxury which was forbidden the wives of citizens by Philip the Fair. The following regulation under Charles VI is well known, *nemo audeat dare præter duo fercula cum potagio*; let no one presume to treat with more than a soup and two dishes.

And yet among the feudal lords and the principal prelates, all the magnificence prevailed which the times would permit. This was the natural consequence of large possessions: but the use of plate was still unknown to most cities. Mussus, a Lombard writer of the fourteenth century, looks upon silver knives and forks, as also on silver spoons, and cups, as a great piece of luxury.

He says, that a man, who has nine or ten in family, with two horses to maintain, is obliged to spend annually three hundred florins;

which in our days is about three thousand livres.

Money was therefore exceeding scarce in many parts of Italy, and much more so in France in the twelfth, thirteen h, and fourteenth centuries. The Florentines and the Lombards, who were the only people that carried on any trade in France and in England, together with the Jews their brokers, usually extorted twenty *per cent.* for interest. Great usury is the infallible sign of public poverty.

Charles V, king of France, had hoarded some treasure by his long œconomy, by the prudent administration of the crown lands, at that time the principal branch of the royal revenue, and by the imposts devised under Philip of Valois, which, though inconsiderable, raised great complaints among an impoverished people. His prime minister, the cardinal de la Grange, had but too greatly enriched himself at the public expence. All those treasures however were squandered away in other countries. The cardinal carried his to Avignon; the duke of Anjou wasted that of his brother king Charles V, in his unfortunate expedition into Italy; while France continued in a miserable condition, till towards the latter end of the reign of Charles VII.

It was far otherwise with the great trading cities in Italy; there the inhabitants lived with conveniency, and in opulence, and enjoyed the sweets of life. At length, wealth and liberty excited the genius, and courage of the nation.

The Italian language was not yet formed at the time of Frederick II. This we find by the following

lowing verses of that emperor, which are the last example of the romance language free from the Teutonic asperity.

*Plas me el cavalier Frances
E la donna Catalana
E L' ovrar Genoes
E la danza Trevisana
E lou cantar Provenzales
Las man e cara d' Angles
E lou donzel de Toscana.*

This is a more precious monument than one would imagine, and much superior to all those ruins of the middle age, so greedily inquired after by persons of more curiosity than judgment. It plainly shews that nature is invariably the same in the several nations mentioned by Frederick. The Catalan women are still, as they were in that emperor's time, the handsomest in Spain. The French nobility have yet the same martial air, which was then in such great esteem. The English are still distinguished for regular features, and handsome hands. The damsels of Tuscany are more agreeable than those of other countries. The Genoese have still preserved their industry; and the natives of Provence their taste for poetry and singing. It was in Provence and Languedoc that the first improvements were made in the Romance language. The inhabitants of Provence taught the Italians. Nothing is so well known to the curious in these matters, as the following verses upon the Vaudois, in the year 1100.

*Que non volia maudir ne jura, ne mentir,
 N'occir, ne avoutrar, ne prenre de altrui,
 Ne s'avengear deli suo enemi,
 Loz dison qu'es Vaudes & los feson morir *.*

This quotation hath likewise its use, inasmuch as it is a proof that all reformers have ever affected a severity of manners.

This jargon has unfortunately continued in the same state it was then in Provence and Languedoc, while the Italian language, under Petrarch's direction, attained that force and elegance which, far from declining since, has received great improvements. The Italian assumed its present form towards the end of the thirteenth century, at the time of the good king Roger, father of the unfortunate Joan. Already had Dante the Florentine illustrated the Tuscan language with that whimsical poem intitled *Comedia*, a work famous for natural beauties, and in many parts far superior to the corrupt taste of that age, being written with as much purity as if the author had been cotemporary with Ariosto and Tasso. It is not at all surprising, that Dante, being one of the chiefs of the Gibelline faction, and having been persecuted by Boniface VIII and Charles of Valois, should, in the course of that poem, have vented his complaints about the quarrels betwixt the priesthood and the empire. I shall take the liberty to insert here a passage of this poet concerning those dissensions. These monuments of

* *Who soever refuses to curse, to swear, to lye, to kill, to commit adultery, to steal, to be revenged of his enemy; they say he is a Vaudois, and put him to death.*

the human mind are a kind of refreshment, after a long perusal of the calamities with which the world has been afflicted.

*Soleva Roma, che'l buon mondo feo,
Duo soli aver, che l' una e l'altra strada
Facen vedere, e del mondo, e di Deo.
L'un l'altro ha spento, ed è giunta la spada
Col pastorale, e l'uno e l'altro insieme,
Per viva forza mal convien che vada :
Perocchè giunti, l'un l'altro non teme.
Se non mi credi, pon mente alla spiga :
Ch'ogni erba si conosce per lo seme.*

Dante del Purgatorio, Cant. 16.

To Dante succeeded Petrarch, who was born in 1304 at Arezzo, a city celebrated also for giving birth to Guido Aretinus *. Under Petrarch the Italian tongue received a further degree of purity, with all the softness of which it is susceptible. In these two poets, but especially in Petrarch, we meet with a great number of passages that resemble those fine antiques, which have the beauty of antiquity, together with the freshness of modern times. You will excuse me, if to give you a specimen of his manner of writing, I take the liberty to insert the beginning of his beautiful ode to the fountain of Vaucluse †; an ode

* Guido was a Benedictine monk, and lived in the eleventh century. He invented six musical notes, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, and wrote two books of music, which he dedicated to his abbot Theobald.

† Vaucluse, so called *quasi vallis clausa*, is a fountain that rises in the midst of a valley in the county of Venaissin in Provence. It throws out such a vast quantity of water, that very near its source it forms a river anciently called *Sulga*, and now *Sorgues*,

ode which may indeed be called irregular, and which he composed in blank verse, without confining himself to rhyme, though it is more esteemed than any of his compositions in that kind.

*Chiare, fresche, e dolci acque,
Ove le belle membra
Pose colei, che sola a me par donna;
Gentil ramo, ove piacque
(Con sospir mi rimembra)
A lei, di fare al bel fianco colonna;
Herba, e fior, che la gonna
Leggiadra ricoverse
Con l'angelico seno;
Aer sacro sereno,
Ov' amor co begli occhi il cor m'aperse;
Date udientia insieme
A le dolenti mie parole estreme.*

These poems, called *Cazoni*, are esteemed his principal performances. His other works did him less honour; he rendered the fountain of Vaucluse, Laura, and his own name, immortal. Were it not for his passion for that lady he would have been less celebrated. The above specimen must shew the immense distance there was at that time between the Italians and all other nations. I chose rather to give you even a superficial idea of Petrarch's genius, and of the elegant softness which constitutes his character, than to repeat what so many others have said concerning the

for which reason Petrarch styles it the queen of fountains. It is famous for having been the ordinary residence of that celebrated poet, in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

honours

honours that were offered him at Paris, as well as those which he received at Rome, together with his triumphant procession to the capitol in 1341; a most remarkable homage which the amazed cotemporaries paid to so great a genius, unrivalled indeed at that time, but afterwards surpassed by Ariosto and Tasso. But I must not omit mentioning, that his family had been exiled from Tuscany, and stripped of their estate, during the broils of the Guelfs and Gibellines; and that the Florentines sent Boccace to him, to beg he would honour his country with his presence, and accept of the restitution of his estate. Never did Greece, even in its most glorious days, shew more regard and esteem for men of abilities.

It was this Boccace that ascertained the Tuscan language; he is still the chief model in prose with regard both to exactness and purity of style, as well as to the natural manner of writing a narrative. After the language had been perfected by these two writers, it received no further change; while the other nations in Europe, not even excepting the Greeks, have altered their idiom.

There was a succession of Italian poets, whose writings have all been handed down to posterity. For Pulci * wrote after Petrarch; and Bojardo †, count

* *Luigi Pulci*, an Italian poet, was a native of Florence, and died about the year 1436. He wrote a poem intitled *Morgante Maggiore*, full of the wild extravagances of chivalry. Besides, he pays very little regard to decency, and confounds the serious and the jocular together. See *Rapin reflexions sur la poetique du tems*.

† *Bojardo* was born at Reggio, in the dutchy of Modena, and flourished

count of Scandiano, succeeded Pulci; but Ariosto surpassed them both in fertility of imagination. Let us not forget that Petrarch and Boccace had celebrated the praises of the unfortunate Joan of Naples, whose mind was so far improved as to be sensible of their merit, and who was even one of their disciples. At that time she was intirely devoted to the polite arts, the charms of which obliterated the remembrance of the criminal days of her former marriage. The change of manners arising from the culture of her mind, ought to have averted the catastrophe with which she concluded her reign.

The polite arts, which all go hand in hand, and generally decay and rise together, were emerging now in Italy from barbarism. Cimabue*, without any assistance, was, in great measure, a new inventor of painting, in the thirteenth century. Giotto † drew some pictures which to this day are beheld with pleasure. There is still extant that celebrated piece of his, which has been set in Mosaic, and represents the prince of the Apostles walking upon the water: it is to be seen over the great gate of St. Peter's church at Rome. Brunelleschi began to reform the Gothic architecture. Guido of Arezzo, long before that time, viz. towards the end

flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Among other pieces he wrote a poem on *the amours of Rolando and Angelica*, of which there are several editions.

* Cimabue was a native of Florence, and flourished in the thirteenth century. He died towards the year 1300, at the age of seventy.

† Giotto was a pupil of Cimabue, and flourished in the fourteenth century. He was born at a village in the neighbourhood of Florence; and died at the last mentioned city in 1336.

of the eleventh century, had invented the modern notes of musick, and spread this art by rendering it more easy.

For all these fine inventions we are indebted to the Tuscans only, who by mere strength of genius revived those arts, before the little remains of Greek learning, together with that language, removed from Constantinople into Italy, after the conquest of the Ottomans. Florence was at that time a second Athens; and it is remarkable, that among the orators who were deputed by most of the cities of Italy to harangue Boniface VIII, upon his exaltation to the holy see, eighteen of them were natives of this city. By this it appears, that it is not to the refugees of Constantinople we are indebted for the restoration of letters: those men were capable of teaching the Italians nothing more than the Greek tongue.

It may appear somewhat extraordinary, that so many great geniuses should have started up of a sudden in Italy, without protection, or any model to go by, in the midst of dissensions and domestic broils: but among the Romans Lucretius wrote his beautiful poem on nature, Virgil his *Bucolics*, and Cicero his philosophical works amidst the confusion of civil wars. When once a language is ascertained, it is a kind of instrument which eminent artists find ready to their hands, and which they make use of for their purposes, without troubling their heads about who governs, or who disturbs the earth.

Though Tuscany alone received those rays of light, yet there were men of some abilities in other countries. St. Bernard and Abelard in France,

France, in the twelfth century, might be looked upon as men of genius; but their language was a barbarous jargon; and they paid tribute in Latin to the corrupt taste of the times. The Latin hymns in rhyme during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are the last stroke of barbarism. Not so did Horace sing the secular games. Scholastic theology, the bastard daughter of Aristotle's philosophy, ill translated and misunderstood, did more real prejudice to reason, and to useful studies, than ever they received from the Huns and Vandals.

Polite literature was not extinct in the East. And since the poetical compositions of Sady the Persian are still repeated daily by the Persians, Turks, and Arabs; they must surely have some merit. He was cotemporary with Petrarch, to whom he is equal in reputation. True it is that generally speaking the eastern nations have seldom any share of good taste. Their writings are like the bombast titles of their sovereigns, in which there is frequent mention of the sun and moon. The spirit of slavery seems naturally fond of high sounding words; whereas that of liberty is nervous; and real greatness assumes the style of simplicity. The Orientals have no delicacy, because the women do not mix in company with the men. They have neither order nor method; the reason is, they let their imaginations rove amid the solitary retreats, where they spend great part of their days; now the imagination is naturally subject to irregular flights. They have been ever strangers to real eloquence, such as that of Demosthenes and Cicero. Who have they to persuade in those eastern climes? None
but

but slaves. And yet they have some beautiful strokes here and there; their words are picturesque; and though their figures are oftentimes high swelling and incoherent, still they have a kind of sublimity. Perhaps you will be pleased to see the following translation of a passage of Sady, which resembles some of the sublime strokes of the Hebrew prophets: it is a description of the grandeur of the Deity; a common place indeed, but which will serve as a specimen of the Persian genius.

He knows distinctly that which ne'er existed :
His ear is fill'd with sounds that ne'er were heard :
Tho' prince, he wants no cringe nor bended knee;
Tho' judge, he needs no written rule nor law.
The pencil of his sure eternal prescience
Portrayed our features in our mother's womb.
From east to west he drives the rapid sun,
And scatters rubies mid the rugged mountains.
He takes two drops of water: this forms man,
That the translucent pearl in the deep
At his command existence rose from nothing.
He speaks: and lo the universe recoils
Into the immensity of space and void.
He speaks: and lo the universe returns
From nothing's dark abyss to bright existence.

If the belles lettres were thus cultivated on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, it is a proof that the other arts, which contribute to the amusements of life, were not neglected. Superfluities are not thought of, till necessities are first acquired. But those necessities were wanting almost all over Europe. For what did the inhabitants of Germany, France, England, Spain, and
of

of the northern parts of Lombardy, know at this time? Nothing but the barbarous customs of fiefs, alike uncertain and tumultuous; nothing but duels, tournaments, scholastic theology, and witchcraft.

In many churches they still celebrated the festival of the asfs, as well as that of the fools. They used to lead an ass to the altar, and chant out an anthem, *Amen, Amen, Asine; eh, eh, eh, Mr. As; eh, eh, eh, Mr. As.* There were idiots, who walked at the head of all their processions, with a plaited gown, a little bell, and a fool's bauble; a custom which is still preserved in Flanders and in Germany. The whole literature of our northern nations consisted of the farces of the *foolish mother*, and the *prince of fools*, in the vulgar tongue.

They talked of nothing but of revelations, exorcisms, and enchantments. The wife of Philip III was accused of adultery; and the king sent to consult a nun, in order to know whether the queen was guilty or not. The children of Philip the Fair entered into an association in writing, whereby they promised mutually to assist each other against all persons that would attempt to destroy them by art magic. By a decree of parliament a witch was condemned to the flames, who, in conjunction with the devil, had forged a deed in favour of Robert of Artois. The illness of Charles VI was attributed to witchcraft, and they sent for a forcerer to cure him. In England the duchess of Gloucester was condemned to do public penance in St. Paul's church*; and her

* She was sentenced to do public penance on three several days by

her pretended accomplice, a peeress of the realm, was burnt alive as a forcerefs.

When such scenes as these, the horrid fruits of credulity, happened to the first personages in Europe, it is easy to imagine what the private people must have been exposed to. But this was the least of their misfortunes.

Germany, France, Spain, and indeed all but the great trading cities of Italy, had hardly any sort of civil government. The walled towns of Germany and France were plundered during the civil wars; and the Greek empire was over-run by the Turks. Spain was still divided between the Christians and the Arabian Mahometans; and each party was frequently rent by intestine wars. In fine, under Philip of Valois, Edward III, Lewis of Bavaria, and Clement VI, a general pestilence destroyed those who had escaped the sword and famine.

Just before this fourteenth century we have seen how the crusades dispeopled and impoverished Europe. Ascending from those crusades to the times which succeeded the death of Charlemagne, we find the same scenes of misery, and greater barbarism. The comparison between those ages and ours, ought to make us sensible of our happiness, notwithstanding that almost invincible

by walking barefoot and bareheaded, with a wax taper in her hand, through the streets of London to St. Paul's church, and then to be imprisoned for life. Voltaire is mistaken in saying that her accomplice was a peeress. Her name was Margery Gurdemain, of Eye; she had been counted a witch, and was burnt in Smithfield Oct. 27, 1441. See Tindal annot. on Rapin. The public penance above described is much the same as the *amende honorable* of the French, which is mentioned in the 4th volume of this work, p. 25.

prone-

proneness of human nature to prefer the past to present times.

Yet we are not to imagine, that the inundation of barbarism was general ; there were men of eminent virtue in all stations, on the throne, and in the cloister, among the laity as well as the clergy. But neither a S. Lewis, nor a S. Ferdinand, were able to heal the wounds that had disfigured humanity. The long quarrel between the emperors and the popes, the obstinate struggle which Rome made for her liberty, both against the German Cæsars and the Roman pontifs, the frequent schisms, and at length the great schism of the west, prevented the popes, who were elected in times of confusion, from practising such virtues as more peaceable times would have inspired. Might not the general corruption of morals reach even them ? The character of men depends on the age they live in ; few, very few, ever rise above the manners of the times. Neither the flagitious crimes into which several popes were hurried, nor their scandalous lives, though countenanced by general example, can be buried in oblivion. Of what use then is the description of their vices, and of their disasters ? To shew the happiness of Rome, since it has been the seat of order and tranquillity. What greater benefit can we receive from the many vicissitudes of this general history, than to convince us that every nation has been unhappy, till the laws and the legislative power have been properly settled ?

As a few monarchs and pontifs, worthy of better times, could not put a stop to such a number of disorders ; so a few men of understanding,
who

who were born in northern climates, could not dispel the darkness that overspread their country, or introduce a taste of learning among the inhabitants.

In vain did king Charles V endeavour to encourage abilities, by making a collection of nine hundred volumes a century before the Vatican library was founded by Nicholas V. The soil was not prepared to bear those exotic plants. Collections have been made of the wretched compositions of that time ; which may be compared to raising a heap of stones out of old ruins, at the same time that you are surrounded with palaces. He was obliged to send to Pisa for an astrologer ; and Catharine, the daughter of that astrologer, who wrote in French, pretends that Charles said, *so long as learning shall be honoured in France, this kingdom will continue to flourish*. But learning they had none at that time ; much less had they any taste : the French possessed only the advantage of making a better appearance than other nations.

When Charles of Valois, brother of Philip the Fair, went to Italy, the Lombards, and even the Tuscans, aped the French fashions. Those fashions were extravagantly whimsical ; such as a boddice laced behind, like womens stays in our time : large hanging sleeves, and a great capuche or cowl, the point of which hung down to the ground. Yet the French gentlemen behaved with an air in this masquerade, and justified the saying of Frederick II, *Plaz me el cavalier Francez*. It would have been better had they been acquainted with the military discipline ; France would not have been then a prey to foreigners under Philip of Valois, John, and Charles VI. But how came
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the English to be better troops? Perhaps it was because, as they fought at some distance from home, they were more sensible of the necessity of discipline; or rather, because the courage of that nation is cooler, and more the result of reflexion.



C H A P. LXX.

Infranchisements, privileges of cities, estates general.

IN the mean time from such a multitude of disasters arose the inestimable blessing of liberty, to whose kind influence the imperial cities, and so many other towns owe their present flourishing condition.

You have already observed, that at the beginning of the feudal anarchy, almost all the towns were peopled rather with bondmen than with citizens, as we have still an instance in Poland, where there are only three or four cities that can possess any lands, and where the inhabitants are the property of their lord, who has over them the power of life and death. It was formerly the same in Germany and in France. The emperors began with infranchising several towns: and these so early as the thirteenth century united for their common defence against the lords of the castles who subsisted by plunder.

In France Lewis the Fat followed this example on his own demesnes, in order to weaken the lords who waged war against him. The small towns

towns purchased their liberty afterwards of the lords themselves, who wanted money to maintain the honour of chivalry in the holy land.

In fine, in 1167 pope Alexander III declared, in the name of a council, *that all Christians ought to be exempt from servitude*. This law alone should render his memory dear to all nations; as the efforts he made in support of the liberty of Italy, ought to render his name precious to the Italians.

It is in virtue of this law that Lewis X declared a long time after in his charters, that all the bond-men still remaining in France, ought to be set free: *because*, said he, *it is the kingdom of the Franks*. He made them indeed pay for this liberty; but could they purchase it too dear?

Yet the people recovered only by degrees, and with great difficulty, their natural right. Lewis X could not oblige the lords his vassals to do for the subjects of their demesnes what he had done for his. The husbandmen, and even the burghers themselves, for a long time continued in a state of villenage, as they do still in several provinces of Germany. It was not till the reign of Charles VII that servitude was entirely abolished in France by the weakening of the lords. Even the English themselves contributed greatly to this revolution, by bringing with them that sweet blessing liberty, the characteristic of their nation.

Before the reign of Lewis X our kings ennobled some citizens. Lewis *the Bold*, son of St. Lewis, ennobled Raoul, who was called *Raoul the Goldsmith*: Not that he was a goldsmith, for the ennobling of such an artizan would

have been ridiculous ; but because he kept the king's money. For these depositaries were called goldsmiths, a name which they still bear in London, where many of the ancient words and customs of France are still preserved.

The communities of towns had begun under Philip the Fair in 1301, to be admitted to the estates general, which at that time were substituted to the ancient parliaments of the nation, composed before of lords and prelates. The third estate gave their vote under the name of request ; and this request they presented on their knees. The custom has still obtained that the deputies of the third estate should be upon their knees when they speak to the king, as the gentlemen of the long robe at the beds of justice. These first general estates, or assemblies, were held, in order to oppose the pretensions of pope Boniface VIII. We must confess, that the condition of humanity was very wretched, when there were only two orders in the kingdom, one composed of the lords of fiefs, who did not constitute the five thousandth part of the nation ; and the other of the clergy, who were still less numerous, and who by their sacred institution are designed for a superior ministry, quite foreign to temporal affairs. The body of the nation had hitherto passed for nothing. This is one of the real causes which kept the kingdom of France in a languishing condition, by checking industry. If in Holland and England the legislature had consisted only of the lords spiritual and temporal, these people would never have been able, in the war of 1701, to hold the balance of Europe.

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Therefore Philip the Fair, who is charged with want of probity in the article of coin, with persecuting the templars, and with perhaps too violent an animosity against pope Boniface VIII, and his memory, did a great service to the nation by summoning the third estate to the general assemblies of France.

About this time the house of commons began to establish itself in England, having greatly increased its weight so early as the year 1300. Thus in almost every part of Europe the chaos of government was reduced to some order, by those very calamities which had been the effect of the feudal laws. But though the people resumed their liberty and their natural rights, yet it was a long time before they could shake off that barbarism, which they had derived from a long state of servitude. It is true they acquired their liberty, and began to be considered as men; but they were not as yet more polished, nor more industrious. The bloody wars of Edward III and Henry V flung the people of France into a worse condition than that of slavery; nor did they begin to breathe till the latter end of Charles VIIIth's reign. The people were not less unhappy in England after the reign of Henry V. In Germany their fate was not so hard in the reigns of Wenceslaus and Sigismund, because the imperial cities had already acquired a considerable degree of power.

C H A P. LXXI.

Of taxes and coins.

THE only thing done by the third estate in the general assembly of the kingdom, held under Philip of Valois in 1345, was to contribute to the establishment of the first impost of the royal aid, and of the excise upon salt. It is certain however, that if the estates had been assembled more often in France, they would have acquired more authority; for under the government of this very Philip of Valois, who was become odious by the debasing of the coin, and contemptible through his misfortunes, the estates themselves appointed commissaries of the three orders in 1355, to collect the money which they had granted the king. Those who give what they please, and as they please, do in some measure partake of the supreme authority. This is the reason that the kings of France never summoned these assemblies, except when they could not do without them. Thus through want of practice in examining the wants, the resources, and the strength of the nation, the estates general never had that steady spirit, nor that knowledge of business, for which all regular bodies are distinguished. As they were summoned but seldom, and at great intervals of time, they were obliged to inform themselves of the laws and customs, instead of making them; in short, they were surprized and lost in uncertainties. The parliament of England assumed greater privileges, by establishing and supporting its right of representing the
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body of the nation. And here especially the difference of the two people lies: they both set out with the same principles; yet their government, which at that time was quite alike, is now intirely different. The estates of Arragon, and of Hungary, as well as the diets of Germany, had still greater privileges.

The estates general of France, or rather that part of France, which fought under king Charles VII, against the usurper Henry V, generously laid a general land-tax in 1426, in the very heighth of the war, at a time of scarcity, when they were even afraid of leaving their lands uncultivated. This impost has been continued ever since. Before that time the kings lived on their demesnes, but Charles VII had scarce any left; and had it not been for the brave warriors who sacrificed themselves for him and for their country, and likewise for the constable de Richemont, who had a great ascendant over him, but at the same time served him at his own expence, he must have been undone.

Soon after, the husbandmen, who before that time had paid the land-tax to their lords, in quality of bond-men, paid this tribute to the king in quality of subjects. Not but the kings of France had also levied a land-tax, even before St. Lewis, within the districts of the royal patrimony. Every one knows the tax of *bread and wine*, which at first was paid in kind, and afterwards in money. The French word *taille* signifying a tax, is derived from the custom which the collectors had of marking on a little tally, what the persons liable to contribution had given: nothing was more rare in those days, than for the common people

to write. Even the very customs of cities were not written; and it was this same Charles VII that ordered them to be reduced to writing in 1454, when he had restored that order and tranquillity, of which his kingdom had been so long deprived, and when such a series of misfortunes had given birth to a new form of government.

Here I am taking rather a general survey of the fate of mankind, than of the revolutions of thrones. History should pay more attention than it does to the human race: here it is that each writer ought to say *homo sum*; but instead of that, most historians have employed their pens in the description of battles.

The affair of the mint was a point which still disturbed most kingdoms in Europe, as well as the peace and prosperity of private families. Each lord struck his own coin, and altered the standard and weight at will, doing a lasting prejudice to himself for a transitory advantage. The crowned heads indeed had been obliged, by the necessity of the times, to set this fatal example. I have already observed, that the gold of one part of Europe, and especially of France, had been consumed in Asia, and in Africa, by the misfortunes of the crusades. They were therefore obliged, as new wants incessantly pressed them, to increase the numerical value of money. At the time of Charles V, after he had reconquered his kingdom, the livre was worth seven numerical livres; under Charlemaign it had the real weight of a livre, or a pound. Therefore the livre under Charles V was, in reality, only the seventh part of the ancient livre. Consequently a family, whose whole subsistence consisted in

in an ancient service, in an infeoffment, or in a duty payable in money, was become seven times the poorer.

We may judge by an example still more striking, of the small quantity of specie that circulated in France. This very Charles V decreed that the king's younger children should have an appennage of twelve thousand livres a year: these twelve thousand livres are not worth more than a hundred and fourscore thousand livres present money. What a small provision for a king's son! However, there was the same scarcity of specie in Germany, in Spain, and in England.

Edward III was the first that struck gold coin: and it may be remembered that the Romans had none, till six hundred and fifty years after the foundation of their city.

The whole revenue of Henry V, king of England, was but fifty-six thousand pounds sterling, and yet with this weak supply he attempted the conquest of France. After the battle of Agincourt he was obliged to return to London, in order to borrow money, and to pledge his jewels to renew the war. In fine, he pushed his conquests rather by the sword than by gold.

In Sweden they had no money but of copper and iron. Nor in Denmark had they any silver, but what had been brought into that country in very small quantities by the trade of Lubeck.

In this general scarcity of silver, which France experienced after the crusades, king Philip the Fair not only raised the fictitious and ideal value of specie; but he ordered some to be coined that

had too much alloy. In short it was counterfeit coin, and the disturbances which this operation occasioned, did not render the nation more happy. Philip of Valois went farther than Philip the Fair; he made the officers of the mint swear by the evangelists, that they would keep the secret. In his ordinance he enjoins them to deceive the merchants, *in such a manner, that they may not perceive there has been any alteration in the weight.* But how could he flatter himself that this fraud should remain undiscovered? And what sad times must those have been, when they were obliged to have recourse to such artifices! What sad times, when all the feudal lords since the reign of St. Lewis did the very thing for which Philip the Fair, and Philip of Valois, are so greatly condemned? In France those lords sold their right of coinage to the sovereign: in Germany they have all preserved it; from whence very great abuses, though not so general, nor so pernicious, do frequently arise.



C H A P. LXXII.

Of the parliament till the reign of Charles VII.

THOUGH Philip the Fair did so much mischief by debasing the sterling coin of St. Lewis, yet we have seen that he did a vast deal of good in summoning the burghers, who in effect are the body of the nation, to the general assemblies. Another great piece of service he did the people, was the instituting a supreme court
of

of judicature, which resides at Paris under the name of parliament.

The several writings concerning the origin and nature of the parliament of Paris, afford us but a very imperfect light, because all transitions from ancient to new usages are insensible. Some will have, it that the chambers of inquests and requests exactly represent the ancient conquerors of Gaul: others pretend, that the parliament has no other right to administer justice, but because the ancient peers were the judges of the nation, and the parliament is called the *court of peers*.

This however is certain, that there was a great alteration made in France under Philip the Fair, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; which is, that the great feudal and aristocratical government was insensibly demolished in the king of France's demesnes; that Philip the Fair instituted almost at the same time the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Normandy, and the general sessions of Troye, for the administering of justice; that the parliament of Paris was the most considerable, because of the extent of its jurisdiction; that the same Philip the Fair fixed it at Paris, and that Philip the Long rendered it perpetual. This court became the depositary, and the interpreter of the ancient and new laws, the guardian of the rights of the crown, and the oracle of the nation.

The king's council, the estates general, and the parliament, were three very different things. The estates general were really the ancient parliament of the whole nation, to which were added the deputies of the commons. The king's council, was composed of such great officers as

he thought proper to admit, and especially of the peers of the realm, who were all princes of the blood: the court of judicature, known by the name of parliament, and established at Paris, was at first composed of bishops and knights, assisted by clerks, either ecclesiastics or laymen, well versed in judicial proceedings.

The peers must certainly have had a right of sitting in this court, since they were originally the judges of the nation. But even if they had had no such right, this would not have hindered the parliament from being a supreme court of judicature; just as in Germany, the imperial chamber is a supreme court, though neither the electors, nor the other princes of the empire, ever sit there; and as the council of Castile is a supreme court, though the grandees of Spain have no seats in that assembly.

The parliament was not the same as the old field meetings in March and May, whose name it retained. The peers had indeed the right of sitting in this court; but these peers were not such as they are now in England, the only nobles of the kingdom. They were princes who held of the crown; and when new peers were created, the king durst not but chuse them from among the princes. When Champagne ceased to be a peerage, in consequence of Philip the Fair's having acquired it by marriage, he erected Britany and Artois into peerages. Doubtless the fovereigns of those countries did not judge causes in the parliament of Paris; but a great many bishops did. In the beginning this new parliament met four times a year; the members were
often

often changed, and the king paid for each of their sessions out of his exchequer.

These parliaments were called *sovereign courts*; the president had the title of sovereign of the body, which signified no more than the head; as appears by these express words in the ordinance of Philip the Fair; *that no master shall absent himself from the chamber, without leave of the sovereign.* I should also observe, that in the beginning no one was allowed to plead by proxy, they were obliged to come and make their appearance themselves in court, unless they had a particular dispensation from the king.

If the bishops had preserved their right of assisting at the sessions of parliament, it would have been a perpetual assembly of the estates general. But they were excluded from thence under Philip the Long in 1320. In the beginning they presided in parliament, and took place of the chancellor. The first layman who presided in this court by the king's order, in 1320, was a count of Boulogne. The gentlemen of the law took only the title of counsellors, till towards the year 1350. In process of time the lawyers becoming presidents, wore the mantle of ceremony belonging to the knights. They had the privileges of noblemen, and were oftentimes called *knights of the law.* But the ancient noble families who had acquired their titles by arms, ever shewed a contempt for this peaceful nobility. In fact, we see that the descendants of the gentlemen of the long robe are not as yet admitted into the chapters of Germany: But it is a prejudice of ancient barbarism, thus to degrade the noblest function of humanity, that of administering justice.

It was in this perpetual parliament established at Paris in the palace of St. Lewis, that Charles the VIth held that famous bed of justice the 23d of December 1420, in the presence of Henry V, king of England; and it was there he nominated *his beloved son Henry heir regent of the kingdom*. It was there the king's son was called only *Charles the pretended dauphin*, and that all the accomplices of the murder of John the *Fearless*, duke of Burgundy, were declared guilty of high treason, and excluded from the right of succession. This was in reality condemning the dauphin, without naming him.

Further, it is asserted, that the registers of the parliament in the year 1420 take notice, that the dauphin (afterwards Charles VII) had been previously summoned three times by sound of trumpet in the month of January, and that for default of appearing he was outlawed: *from which sentence, says this register, he appealed to God, and to his sword*. If this register be true, there must have been very near a whole year's interval between the outlawry and the bed of justice, which confirmed this fatal decree. But it is not at all astonishing that such a sentence passed. Philip duke of Burgundy, son of the murdered duke, was all powerful in Paris; the dauphin's mother had conceived an implacable aversion to her son; the king bereft of his understanding was in the hands of foreigners; and to conclude the whole, the dauphin had punished one crime by the perpetration of another still more horrid, having caused his relation John duke of Burgundy to be murdered in his own presence, after drawing him into a snare upon the faith of the most solemn oaths. We must

must likewise consider the spirit of the times. This very Henry V, king of England, and regent of France, was imprisoned, when only prince of Wales, by order of one of the judges, for giving him a box on the ear as he sat upon the bench.

The same century produced another instance of extreme severity of justice. A ban* of Croatia dared to condemn Elizabeth regent of Hungary to be drowned, for being guilty of the murder of king Charles of Durazzo; and the sentence was accordingly executed.

The judgment of the parliament against the dauphin was of another kind; for it was dictated by superior force. They took no cognizance of John duke of Burgundy when he assassinated the duke of Orleans, and yet they proceeded against the dauphin, in order to punish the murder of an assassin.

In reading the lamentable history of those days, we ought to remember, that after the famous treaty of Troye, which transferred the crown of France to Henry V, king of England, there were two parliaments at the same time, as there were two at the time of the league, about three hundred years afterwards; but every thing was double in the confusion that happened under Charles VI. There were two kings, two queens, two parliaments, two universities of Paris, and each party had its marshals, and its great officers.

I shall observe likewise, that in those days when a peer of the realm was to be tried, the king was

* A ban signifies a kind of chief justice, and generalissimo of the army.

obliged to preside in court. In consequence of this custom Charles VII, the last year of his life, sat at the head of the judges, who condemned the duke of Alençon; a custom which since then has appeared inconsistent with justice, and unworthy of royal majesty; because the presence of the sovereign seems to constrain the judges, and to become a circumstance prejudicial, when it should naturally be favourable to the criminal.

In fine, I shall observe, that for the trial of a peer it was necessary to summon the peers, who were his natural judges. Charles VII added the great officers of the crown in the affair of the duke of Alençon; nay, he did more, he admitted the treasurers of France with the lay deputies of the parliament. Thus every thing changes; so that the history of the customs, laws, and privileges, in a great many countries, and especially in France, is only a moveable picture.

It is therefore an idle notion, and an ungrateful task, to think of reducing every thing to the ancient usages, and to want to fix that wheel which time revolves with irresistible motion. To what æra must we have recourse? To that when the word *parliament* signified an assembly of free captains, who met in the open fields on the first of March, to regulate the distribution of the spoils? Or to that when all the bishops had a right of sitting in a court of judicature, also called parliament? Or to the time when the barons kept the commons in a state of slavery? To what age, to what laws must we ascend, what custom must we abide by? A modern Roman might with as much reason insist upon the pope's re-establishing the consuls, the tribunes, the senate, the comitia,
and

and the intire form of the ancient republic; or a modern Athenian might as well desire the sultan to restore the ancient Areopagus *, and the assemblies of the people.



C H A P. LXXIII.

Of the council of Basil held at the time of Charles VII.

COUNCILS are, in regard to popes, the same as estates general in respect to kings: but things that bear the greatest resemblance have still some difference. In limited monarchies, even where there is the greatest mixture of a republican spirit, the estates never fancied themselves above their kings, though they have often deposed them under particular emergencies, or during intestine troubles. The electors who deposed the emperor Wenceslaus never imagined themselves superior to a reigning emperor. The cortes or estates of Arragon used to tell the king whom they elected, *nos que valemus tanto como vos, e que podemos mas que vos*; *we who are as good as you, and who can do more than you*: but after his coronation they

* The court of judgment at Athens, established on a hill of that name, in the year of the world 2545, and before Christ 1490, in the reign of Cecrops. It is said that Mars was the first accused in this court by Neptune, for killing his son Halirrothius. Mars was acquitted, and ever after the hill bore the name of Areopagus, from *πάγος*, signifying a village or place, and *ἄγος*, the name the Greeks gave to this Deity. Here it was that St. Paul preached to the Athenians. See Plut. Pauf. St. Austin, de civ. Dei.

ceased

ceased to express themselves in this kind of style; they no longer called themselves the superiors of a person whom they had made their master.

But it is not the same thing with an assembly of bishops of so many independent churches, as with the body of a monarchical state. * This body has a sovereign; whereas the several churches have only a first metropolitan. Matters of religion, doctrine, and discipline, cannot be submitted to the decision of a single man in contempt of the whole world. Councils are therefore superior to popes, in the same sense as the opinion of a thousand persons ought to prevail over that of one. The question is to know, whether they have a right to depose him, as the diets of Poland, and the electors of the German empire have a right to depose their sovereign.

This is one of those questions which force alone is able to decide. If, on the one hand, a simple provincial council may depose a bishop, surely an assembly of the whole christian world may degrade the bishop of Rome. But, on the other hand, this bishop is a sovereign, an authority which he has not derived from any council: how then can a council deprive him of it, especially when his subjects are satisfied with his administration? In vain would all the bishops of the universe depose an ecclesiastic elector, with whom the empire and his electorate were satisfied; he would still continue an elector, with the same right as a king excommunicated by the whole church, but master at home, would continue to be a sovereign.

The council of Constance deposed the sovereign of Rome, because the Romans were neither will-
ing

ing nor able to oppose it. The council of Basil, by attempting, ten years afterwards, to follow this example, shewed the world how easily we may be deceived by precedents, how great a difference there is in affairs which appear to be of the same nature, and how what is great and bold at one time, may be trifling and rash at another.

The council of Basil was only a prolongation of several others which had been summoned by pope Martin V, sometimes at Pavia, and sometimes at Sienna : but as soon as pope Eugene IV was elected, in 1431, the fathers began with declaring, that the pope had neither a right to dissolve, nor even to transfer their assembly, and that he himself was subject to their jurisdiction. Upon this declaration pope Eugene issued out a bull dissolving the council. The fathers, by this precipitate step, shewed more zeal than prudence; and their zeal might have been attended with fatal consequences. Sigismond, who still sat on the imperial throne, had not Eugene's person in his power, as he had had John XXIII; so that he was obliged to behave with great circumspection as well towards the pope as towards the council. This scandalous affair was a long time confined to negotiations; and both east and west were engaged in the cause. The Greek empire was no longer able to maintain itself against the Turks, but by the assistance of the Latin princes; and, in order to obtain a weak and very uncertain supply, the eastern church must submit to that of Rome. The Greeks were very far from being inclined to this submission; nay, as their danger approached, they rather grew more stubborn. But the emperor John Paleologus, whom the danger threat-

threatened more nearly, resolved politically to comply with what his whole clergy had refused through obstinacy. He was ready to agree to every thing, provided they would assist him: he addressed himself at the same time to the pope, and to the council, and they both contended who should have the honour of converting the Greeks. He sent ambassadors to Basil, where the pope had a few of his party, who were more artful than the rest of the fathers. The council had decreed to send some money to the emperor, and galleys to escort him to Italy; and that afterwards he should be received at Basil. The pope's emissaries made a subreptitious decree, by which it was ordained, in the name of the council itself, that the emperor should be received at Florence, whither the pope had transferred the assembly; they likewise broke the lock of the box where the council kept the seals; and thus they signed, in the name of the fathers, the very contrary of what had been voted by that body. This Italian artifice succeeded, and it then appeared that the pope must, in every respect, have the advantage.

The fathers at Basil had no chief, like those at the council of Constance, that was able to keep them united, and to crush the pope. They had no settled plan; they even behaved with so little prudence, that in a certain writing which they delivered to the Greek ambassadors, it was mentioned, that after destroying the heresy of the Hussites, they would extirpate the errors of the Greek church. The pope acted with greater cunning; he spoke to the Greeks of nothing but of union and brotherly love, and avoided all harsh expressions. He

was

was a man of abilities, of which he had shewn signal proofs, by appeasing the commotions at Rome, and by attaining to his present degree of power, in spite of such strong opposition: in short, his gallies were ready before those of the council.

The emperor having his expences defrayed by the pope, embarks with his patriarch and a few select bishops, who were ready to abjure the opinions of the Greek church to save their country. The pope received them at Ferrara, where the emperor and the bishops, notwithstanding their real submission, preserved the appearance of the majesty of the empire, and of the dignity of the Greek church. None of them kissed the pope's toe; but after some contests about the word *filioque*, which Rome had long since inserted in the symbol, as also about unleavened bread, and purgatory, they reconciled themselves in every respect to the Roman church.

Eugene removed his council from Ferrara to Florence, where the deputies of the Greek church embraced the opinion of purgatory. Here it was decided, *that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by the production of inspiration; that the Father communicates every thing to the Son excepting his paternity; and that the Son has had a productive virtue from all eternity.*

At length the Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almost all his prelates, subscribed at Florence to the point so long contested of the supremacy of Rome.

This union of the Latins and the Greeks was indeed but of a short duration, for the whole Greek church disowned it: however, the pope's victory

was

was not the less glorious; and never pontif seemed to enjoy a more splendid triumph.

At the very time that he was rendering this service to the Latins, and that he extinguished, as much as in him lay, the schism between the
 1439. eastern and western churches, the council of Basil deposed him from the pontificate, declaring him guilty of *rebellion, simony, schism, heresy, and perjury.*

If we consider the council by this decree, we shall find them to be an assembly of factious prelates; but if we view them by the rules of discipline which they established, they will appear to be men of consummate wisdom. This is because passion had no share in these regulations, whereas they were swayed by it intirely in the degrading of pope Eugene. The most august body, when under the influence of faction, commit more mistakes than a single person. In France the council of Charles VII embraced those prudent regulations, and rejected the decree which had been dictated by the spirit of party.

It is these regulations which long contributed to render the pragmatic sanction so dear to the French nation. That which had been promulged by St. Lewis, could scarce be said to subsist; and the customs which had been in vain insisted upon by France, were abolished by the artifices of the court of Rome. By this famous pragmatic sanction the customs were restored; the elections made by the clergy with the king's approbation were confirmed; the annats were declared simoniacal; and the reserves and expectatory graces were condemned. But on the one hand, men seldom have the courage to exert their whole strength;

strength; and on the other, they sometimes exert their strength too much. This famous law which secures the liberties of the Gallican church, permits appeals to be made to the pope in the last resort, and that he should delegate judges in all ecclesiastic causes, which might be so easily determined by national bishops. This was in some measure acknowledging the pope as master: and at the very time that the pragmatic sanction left him possessed of the first of all rights, they forbid him to create more than four and twenty cardinals, with as little reason as the pope would have to fix the number of the dukes and peers in France, or of the grandees in Spain. Thus mankind are made up of contradiction.

It was likewise the discipline established by this council that produced the Germanic concordate: but the pragmatic sanction has been abolished in France, whereas the Germanic concordate is still in force. All the usages of Germany have been preserved, such as the election of prelates, the investiture of princes, the privileges of cities, the rights, the ranks and order of precedences; hardly any thing has changed. On the contrary, in France we see not the least remains of the customs received in the reign of Charles VII.

After the council of Basil had vainly deposed a very prudent pope, whose authority all Europe continued to acknowledge, they set up, as every body knows, a mere phantom in his room, a duke of Savoy, named Amadeus VIII; who from being the first duke of his family, was now become an hermit at Ripaglia. Poggio does not think his devotion was real; this however is certain, that he could not withstand the ambition of being pope.

pope. He was declared supreme pontif, though a layman : and that which had caused such a violent schism and such wars at the time of Urban VI, was now attended with no other effect than with ecclesiastical quarrels, bulls, censures, reciprocal excommunications, and contumelious expressions. For if the council on one hand called Eugene *a simonist, an heretic, a perjurer* ; on the other Eugene's secretary treated the fathers as *fools, madmen, and barbarians* ; and to Amadeus they gave the name of *Cerberus*, and of *Antichrist*. In short, under pope Nicholas V, the council insensibly dwindled away of itself ; and this duke of Savoy, hermit and pope, contented himself with a cardinal's hat, whereby the church was restored to her usual tranquillity.

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This council shews how greatly things are subject to change, according to the difference of times. The fathers at the council of Constance condemned John Hufs and Jerome of Prague to the flames, notwithstanding the solemn protestation of these men, that they did not follow the dogmas of Wicleff, and notwithstanding the clear explication they gave of their faith concerning the real presence, persisting only in Wicleff's sentiments in regard to the hierarchy and discipline of the church.

At the time of the council of Basil the Hufites went much farther than their two founders. Procopius, that famous captain, companion and successor of John Ziska, came and disputed in the council at the head of two hundred gentlemen of his party. Among other things he maintained, *that monkery was invented by the devil*. Yes, said he, I will prove it. Is it not true that Jesus

Christ

Christ did not institute this kind of life? we do not deny it, answered cardinal Julian: well, said Procopius, it is therefore plain that it was invented by the devil. A reasoning worthy of a Bohemian captain of those days. Æneas Sylvius*, who was witness of the scene, says, that they answered Procopius only with a loud fit of laughter: but the unfortunate John Huss and Jerome of Prague had been answered by a sentence of death.

During this council we have seen how greatly the Greek emperors debased themselves: they must surely have been upon the brink of ruin, when they cringed for such feeble succours to Rome, and made a sacrifice of their religion. In fact they fell some years afterwards a victim to the Turks, who became masters of Constantinople. We shall now see the causes and consequences of this revolution.

* Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini was born at Corfini, a village in the territory of Sienna in 1405. He applied himself early to literature, and appeared with distinction when he was only 26 years old at the council of Basil, in defence of which he wrote several pieces against pope Eugene IV. He was employed in different negotiations, and promoted to the bishopric of Trieste, afterwards to that of Sienna, and at length made cardinal by Calixtus III in 1456. Upon the death of that pope, Æneas Sylvius was elected in his stead 27 Aug. 1458, when he took the name of Pius II. He published in 1460 the bull *Execrabilis* against appeals to future councils; and another in 1463, wherein he retracts all he had written in favour of the council of Basil. He died at Ancona in 1464, and his works were published at Helmstad, in folio, in 1700.

C H A P. LXXIV.

Of the decline of the Greek empire.

AT the same time that the crusades dispeopled the west, the breach was made by which the Turks at length entered Constantinople; for the usurpation of the crusaders had weakened the oriental empire to such a degree, that the Greeks, upon recovering it out of their hands, found it dismembered and impoverished.

We should recollect that this empire returned to the Greeks in 1261; that Michael Paleologus rescued it from the Latin usurpers, and afterwards dethroned his pupil John Lascaris. We must also recal to mind, that at this very time Charles of Anjou, brother of St. Lewis, invaded Naples and Sicily, and that had it not been for the Sicilian vespers, he would have contested with the tyrant Paleologus, the sovereignty of Constantinople, a city fated to be a prey to usurpers.

This Michael Paleologus acted his part very artfully with the popes, in order to divert the storm: he flattered them with the submission of the Greek church; but his mean politics could not prevail over the spirit of party, nor over the superstition by which his country was governed. By this kind of temporizing, he rendered himself so odious, that his own son Andronicus, unhappily a zealous schismatic, either durst not, or
 1283. would not grant him the honours of a Christian burial.

And yet those unhappy Greeks, thus pressed on every side, both by the Turks and by the Latins, were disputing all this time about the transfiguration
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tion of Jesus Christ. One half of the empire pretended that the light of Tabor * was eternal, and the other that God had produced it merely on account of the transfiguration. In the mean time the Turks were acquiring strength in Asia Minor, and Thrace was soon over-run by their arms.

Ottoman, from whom all the emperors of that name are descended, had fixed the seat of his empire at Byrsa in Bithynia. His son Orcan advanced to the borders of the Propontis. The emperor John Cantacuzenus was glad to give this prince his daughter in marriage : and the nuptials were celebrated at Scutari, opposite to Constantinople. Soon after, another competitor set up for the imperial diadem ; when the emperor finding himself unable to maintain his authority, retired to a monastery. Such a circumstance as an emperor's being father-in-law to the Turkish sultan, and afterwards turning a monk, seemed to forebode the downfall of the empire. The Turks, who at this time had no shipping, wanted to cross over into Europe. To so low an ebb was the empire reduced, that the Genoese by paying a small acknowledgment, were in possession of Galata ; this place is looked upon as the suburb of Constantinople, from whence it is parted by a canal which forms the port. It is said that sultan

* Tabor, a famous mountain of Galilee, in Palestine, near the great plain of Esdalon, and the torrent of Cison, within six miles of Nazareth, towards the east. On this mountain Christ was long supposed to have transfigured himself in the presence of his disciples ; yet several moderns are of opinion that this was not the place. None of the ancient fathers, in treating of the transfiguration, mention mount Tabor : nor is it mentioned by the Evangelists. See Calmet, *Dict. Bibl.*

Amurath, son of Orcan, engaged the Genoese to transport his troops to the other side of the strait; the contract was signed; and the Genoese are supposed for some thousand besants of gold to have betrayed Europe. Others pretend that the Turks made use of Greek vessels. Be that as it may, Amurath passed the strait, and advanced as far as Adrianople, where the Turks made a settlement, and from thence threatened all Christendom. The emperor John Paleologus repairs in all haste to Rome to kiss the feet of pope Urban V; he acknowledges his supremacy, and humbles himself in order to obtain some assistance, by the pope's mediation: but the situation of their own affairs, and the unhappy example of the past crusades, hindered the European princes from thinking of any such expedition. In fine, after having in vain endeavoured to move the pope, he went back and cringed to Amurath, with whom he concluded a treaty, not as one crowned head with another, but as a slave with his master. He served at the same time as a lieutenant and as an hostage to the Turkish conqueror; and after Amurath and Paleologus had each put out the eyes of their eldest sons, of whom they were equally jealous, Paleologus gave his second son to the sultan. This son, whose name was Manuel, served under Amurath against the Christians. The Janizaries had been already instituted; but from Amurath they received that discipline which subsists to this very day.

This prince was assassinated in the midst of his victories, and his son Bajazet Ilderim, or Bajazet the thunderbolt, succeeded him. The Greek emperors were then at the very lowest ebb of igno-

ignominy and debasement. Andronicus, the unfortunate son of John Paleologus, who had his eyes plucked out by his own father, fled to Bajazet, and implored his protection against his father and his brother Manuel. Bajazet gave him four thousand horse; and the Genoese, who were still masters of Galata, assisted him with men and money. With these succours Andronicus made himself master of Constantinople, where he put his father under close confinement.

At the end of two years the father resumed the purple, and caused a citadel to be built near Galata, in order to stop the progress of Bajazet, who already had projected the siege of the Imperial city. Bajazet ordered him to demolish the citadel, and to admit a Turkish cadi into the town, to decide the causes of the Turkish merchants settled in that capital. The emperor obeyed; and Bajazet leaving Constantinople behind him, as a prey which he might at any time seize, advances towards the heart of Hungary. There he defeats, as I have already mentioned, the Christian army, and among the rest those brave Frenchmen who were under the command of Sigismund emperor of the West. Before the battle the French slew their Turkish prisoners; so that it is not to be wondered that Bajazet after his victory massacred the French in his turn, who had set him this cruel example. He ordered only five and twenty knights to be saved, among whom was the brother of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, to whom he said upon receiving his ransom; *I might oblige thee to swear never to take up arms any more against me, but I despise thy oaths and thy arms.*

VOL. II.

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After this defeat, Manuel, who was now emperor of the city of Constantinople, had recourse to the European princes like his father. He came to France to sue for succour; but he never could have chosen a less favourable time, Charles VI. being seized with a frenzy, and his country a scene of desolation. This Greek emperor staid two years in France, while the capital of the Christians was blocked up by the Turks. At length they laid siege to it in form, and the loss of this celebrated metropolis seemed inevitable, when it was preserved for a while by one of those great revolutions which change the face of the earth.

The dominion of the Mogul Tartars, whose origin we have already seen, extended from the Volga to the frontiers of China and to the Ganges. Tamerlane one of those Tartar princes saved Constantinople by attacking Bajazet.



C H A P. LXXV.

Of Tamerlane.

TIMOUR, whom I shall call Tamerlane to comply with the general custom, was descended from Jenghiz-chan by the female side, according to the testimony of the best historians. He was born the year 1357 in the town of Cash, situate in the ancient Sogdiana, where the Greeks formerly extended their arms under Alexander, and established some colonies. This is now the country of the Usbecks: it begins at the river Gihon or Oxus, which rises in the

little Thibet, about seven hundred leagues from the source of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is the same Gihon as that mentioned in scripture.

Upon hearing the name of the town of Cash, some would imagine it to be a frightful country : and yet it is a delightful spot, in the same climate as Naples and Provence.

People are apt to consider Tamerlane as a brutish barbarian : but it has been observed that there never was any great conqueror among princes, nor great fortunes among private people, without that kind of merit which is rewarded with success. That Tamerlane was in a very high degree possessed of the merit which accompanies ambition, appears from this, that though he was born to no title nor possessions, yet he subdued as large an extent of country as Alexander, and almost as much as Jenghiz-chan. His first conquest was that of Balch, the capital of Khorassan, on the frontiers of Persia. Then he made himself master of the province of Kandahor, and after reducing all the ancient Persia under his dominion, he turned back in order to conquer the people of Transoxana. Thence he marched to lay siege to Bagdad, which he took ; and proceeding with his army into India, he subdued that nation, and entered Deli, the capital of the empire. We find that in all times whoever became masters of Persia, have also conquered or ravaged India. Thus Darius Ochus, after several others, made a conquest of it : Alexander, Jenghiz-chan, and Tamerlane, soon brought it under subjection : and in our days Shah Nadir only shewing himself in that country, immediately

gave law to the inhabitants, and returned loaded with immense treasures.

After Tamerlane had made the conquest of India, he marched his army back, and falling upon Syria, he took Damascus. From thence he suddenly returned to Bagdad, which had been already subdued, but wanted now to shake off the yoke. He soon became master of it again, and delivered it up to the fury of the soldiers. On this occasion it is said that there perished near eight hundred thousand inhabitants; in short, the city was intirely destroyed. In those countries the towns were easily razed to the ground, and easily rebuilt; the houses, as we have already observed, being made only of brick dried in the sun. It was in the midst of these victories, that the Greek emperor, finding no relief from Christians, addressed himself to the Tartar conqueror. At the same time five Mahometan princes, who had been dispossessed by Bajazet of their dominions situated on the borders of the Euxine sea, implored Tamerlane's assistance. He was prevailed upon at length by Mussulmen and Christians to march his army into Asia Minor.

We may form a favourable idea of his character from this, that in the course of this war he observed at least the law of nations. He began with sending ambassadors to Bajazet, who were ordered to insist upon his raising the siege of Constantinople, and doing justice to the Mahometan princes whom he had stripped of their dominions. Bajazet received these proposals with anger and disdain. Tamerlane declared war against him, and immediately put his troops in motion. Bajazet raised the siege of Constantinople, and
between

between Cæsarea and Ancyra was fought that famous battle where the forces of the whole world seemed to have been assembled. Doubtless Tamerlane's troops were excellent, since after the most obstinate struggle, they defeated those who had overthrown the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Germans, the French, and so many warlike nations. It is certain that Tamerlane, who had hitherto fought with the scimitar and with arrows, made use of artillery against the Turks; and that it is he who sent some field pieces into the Mogul's country, where they are still to be seen with unknown characters engraved upon them. The Turks in this very engagement made use not only of cannon but of the ancient wild-fire: by this double advantage they would have infallibly been masters of the field, if Tamerlane had had no artillery.

Bajazet saw his eldest son Mustapha slain by his side in the engagement, and he himself fell into the hands of the enemy together with another son of his, whose name was Musa or Moyfes. It is natural to inquire into the consequences of this battle betwixt two nations who seemed to dispute the empire of Europe and Asia, two conquerors whose names are still so famous in story; a battle moreover which saved the Greeks for a while, and might have helped to destroy the Turkish empire.

Of the Persian and Arabian authors who wrote the life of Tamerlane, not one takes notice of his shutting up Bajazet in an iron cage. But it is mentioned in the Turkish annals; perhaps in order to render Tamerlane odious; or rather because they copied it from Greek historians.

The Arabian authors pretend that Tamerlane obliged Bajazet's wife, half naked, to wait upon him at table ; and this is what gave birth to the vulgar error, that the Turkish sultans never would marry after such an affront done to one of their wives. This fable is refuted by the marriage of Amurath II to the daughter of a despot of Servia, as we shall shew hereafter ; and by that of Mahomet II to the daughter of a prince of Turcomania.

It is difficult to reconcile the iron cage, and the base affront done to Bajazet's wife, with the generosity which the Turks attribute to Tamerlane. They take notice that this conqueror upon entering Bursa, or Prusa, the capital of the Turkish dominions in Asia, wrote a letter to Solyman, son of Bajazet, which would have done honour to Alexander. *I am willing to forget, says Tamerlane, that ever I was the enemy of Bajazet. I shall act as a father towards his children, provided they wait for the effects of my clemency. I am content with my conquests, and no favours of fickle fortune shall tempt me.*

Supposing that such a letter was ever written, it could be nothing but an artifice. The Turks likewise mention, that upon Solyman's taking no notice of the letter, that same Musa, son of Bajazet, was declared sultan in Bursa by Tamerlane, who said to him upon the occasion ; *receive the inheritance of thy father ; a generous soul knows how to conquer kingdoms, and to restore them.*

Oriental historians, as well as ours, are apt to put words into the mouths of celebrated men, which they never said. Such magnanimous behaviour towards the son does but ill agree with his

his barbarous treatment of the father. But what we may infer for certain, and indeed most deserves our attention, is, that Tamerlane's great victory did not deprive the Turkish empire of a single city. This Musa, whom he made sultan, and whom he protected against his brothers Solyman and Mahomet I, was unable to oppose them, notwithstanding the protection of the conqueror. There was a civil war for thirteen years between the sons of Bajazet; and we do not find that Tamerlane made any advantage of it. Even the misfortune of this sultan shews, that the Turks were altogether a warlike nation, who might lose battles without being conquered; and that the Tartar finding it not so easy to extend his conquests, or to make any settlements towards Asia Minor, turned his arms somewhere else.

His pretended generosity to the sons of Bajazet was not surely the effect of moderation. For soon after this he ravaged Syria, which was still subject to the Mamalukes of Egypt. From thence he repassed the Euphrates, and returned to Samarcand, which he looked upon as the capital of his vast dominions. He had conquered almost as great an extent of territory as Jenghiz-chan; for if the latter had part of China and Corea, the former was possessed of Syria, and the half of Asia Minor, which Jenghiz-chan was never able to subdue: he was likewise master of almost all Indostan, whereas Jenghiz-chan had only the northern provinces. Scarce was he settled in the possession of this immense empire, when he began to meditate the conquest of China, at too advanced a period of life.

It was at Samarcand, that in imitation of Jenghiz-chan, he received the homage of several princes of Asia, and the embassies of many sovereigns. Not only the Greek emperor Manuel sent ambassadors to him, but likewise Henry III, king of Castile. Here he gave one of those feasts which resemble those of the first kings of Persia. All the orders of the state, and the several artificers passed in review, each with the ensigns of his profession. He married all his grandsons and
 1406. grand-daughters the same day: at length he died at a very advanced age, after having reigned thirty six years, more fortunate by the length of his days and the success of his grand-children, than Alexander, to whom the eastern nations compare him; but far inferior to the Macedonian hero, inasmuch as he was born among a barbarous people, and like Jenghiz-chan, had destroyed a great many cities without building one: whereas Alexander during a very short reign, and in the midst of his rapid conquests, built Alexandria and Scanderoon; re-established this very Samarcand, which was afterwards Tamerlane's imperial residence; built cities as far as the Indies; settled Greek colonies beyond the Oxus; sent the Babylonian observations into Greece; and changed the commerce of Asia, Europe, and Africa, by making Alexandria the general magazine. Here, I think, the character of Alexander is preferable to that of Tamerlane, Jenghiz-chan, and to all the conquerors ever compared to him.

In other respects Tamerlane does not appear to me to have been of a more violent temper than Alexander. If I may be permitted a little to enliven so dismal a subject, and to mix the
 small

small with the great, I will mention what has been related by a cotemporary Persian of this prince. He says, that as a famous Persian poet, named *Hamedi Kermani*, was bathing one day in the same bath with Tamerlane and several other courtiers, they happened to fall upon a humourous kind of diversion, which consisted in settling the value of each of the company in money. I rate you, says the poet to the great chan, at thirty aspers. The napkin I wipe myself with, is worth that, answers the monarch. Ay, but replies Hamedi, I reckoned the napkin too. Very likely a prince who permitted those innocent liberties, was not of a ferocious disposition; but it is possible also, that he might grow familiar with the little people, while he cut the great ones throats.

He was neither a Mussulman nor of the sect of the great Lama, but like the Chinese he acknowledged one only God, and in this expressed a mark of great sense, which even the most polite nations seemed to have wanted. There was no superstitious practices to be seen, neither at his court, nor in his armies. He tolerated alike the Mussulmen and the Lamists, as well as the idolaters who were spread over the Indies. He even assisted, as he was passing over mount Libanus, at the religious ceremonies of the Maronite monks who live on that mountain. His only weakness was that of giving credit to judicial astrology, a very general error, from which we ourselves are but lately recovered. He had no learning, but he took care to have his grandchildren instructed in the sciences. The famous Olougbeg who succeeded him in the dominions of Transoxana, founded at Samarcand the first

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academy.

academy of sciences, made the measurement of the earth, and had a share in the composition of the astronomical tables which go by his name, resembling in this respect Alfonso king of Castile, who flourished one hundred years before him. The grandeur of Samarcand is at present fallen, together with the sciences; and the whole country now possessed by the Usbeck Tartars, is relapsed into barbarism: but another revolution will perhaps one day raise its head again, and restore it to its former glory.

His posterity still reigns in that part of India, called Mogulstan, a name derived from the Mogul Tartars under Jenghiz-chan, who preserved this conquest to the time of Tamerlane. Another branch of his family reigned in Persia, till a succeeding dynasty of Tartar princes of the faction of the *White Shep*, took possession of that kingdom in 1468. When we reflect that the Turks are also of a Tartar original, and that Attila was descended from these very people, this will help to corroborate what has been already mentioned in the present work, that the Tartars have conquered almost the whole world. And we have seen the reason of this: they had nothing to lose; they were more robust, and more inured to hardship, than other nations. But since the eastern Tartars, after making a second conquest of China in the last century, have formed both China and their own country into one government; since the empire of Russia has been likewise enlarged and civilized; and, in a word, since the whole earth has been thick set with ramparts lined with artillery, these great migrations are no longer to be dreaded. Polite nations are sheltered

sheltered from the irruptions of those savages. All Tartary, except that called Chinese, contains no more than wretched hordes or clans, who would be extremely fortunate in being conquered in their turn, were it not far preferable to be free than civilized.



C H A P. LXXVI.

Continuation of the history of the Turks, and of the Greeks till the taking of Constantinople.

Constantinople was for some time reprieved by Tamerlane's victory, but the successors of Bajazet soon re-established their empire. Tamerlane's conquests were chiefly in Persia, Syria, India, Armenia, and on the borders of Russia. The Turks recovered Asia Minor, and preserved their acquisitions in Europe. At that time there must have been a greater intercourse, and less aversion, than at present, between Mahometans and Christians. John Paleologus made no difficulty to marry his daughter to Orcan; and Amurath II, grandson of Bajazet, and son of Mahomet I, did not scruple to marry the daughter of a despot of Servia named Irene.

Amurath II was one of those Turkish princes who contributed to the Ottoman grandeur: but he was convinced of the vanity of that very grandeur which he had increased by his arms. His only aim was retirement. It must have been a very extraordinary spectacle to see a Turkish philosopher abdicate the crown: this prince resigned it twice, and twice he was prevailed

vailed upon by his bashaws and janizaries to resume it.

John Paleologus went to Rome, and from thence to the council, which we mentioned to have been summoned by Eugene IV at Florence; there he disputed about the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, while the Venetians, already maſters of part of Greece, were purchaſing Theſſalonica, and his dominions were almoſt intirely ſhared between the Chriſtians and the Mahometans. Amurath in the mean time took this very Theſſalonica juſt after it had been ſold. The Venetians imagined they could ſecure this territory, and defend Greece by a wall eight thouſand paces in length, according to the ancient practice which the Romans themſelves had obſerved in the north of England. This may be ſome defence againſt the inroads of a ſavage nation; but was of no uſe againſt the diſciplined army of the Turks. They demolish'd the wall, and puſhed their conqueſts on all ſides into Greece, Dalmatia, and Hungary.

The Hungarians had lately choſen Ladislaus the young king of Poland for their ſovereign. The ſultan having carried on the war for ſome years in Hungary, Thrace, and all the neighbouring countries, with various ſucceſs, concluded the moſt ſolemn peace that had been ever
 144. made between the Chriſtians and the Turks. Amurath and Ladislaus both ſwore to it, one by the Koran, and the other by the Goſpel.

The Turk promiſed to make no further conqueſts; and even ſurrendered ſome of thoſe he had already made. At the ſame time the limits of the Ottoman poſſeſſions, as well as of Hungary and Venice, were ſettled, Car-

Cardinal Julian Cefarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for persecuting the party of John Hufs, for presiding at the first sessions of the council of Basil, and for the crusade which he preached against the Turks, was the person who, by too blind a zeal, involved the Christians in shame and misery.

Scarce was the peace concluded, when the cardinal was for breaking it. He flattered himself that he had engaged the Venetians and the Genoese to fit out a formidable fleet, and that the Greeks would awake from their lethargy, and make one desperate push. The occasion likewise was favourable, for it was just the very time when Amurath II, on the faith of the abovementioned treaty, had consecrated his days to retirement, and resigned the empire to his son Mahomet, who was young and unexperienced.

A pretext was wanting for the violation of this oath: Amurath had observed all the conditions with a scrupulous exactness, which left not the least room for the Christians to complain. The legate then had no other resource than to persuade Ladislaus, as well as the Hungarian chiefs, and the Poles, that their oath was not binding. Both in speeches and in writings he assured them, that the peace sworn upon the Gospel was void, because it had been made contrary to the pope's inclination. And indeed Eugene IV, then the reigning pontif, had wrote to Ladislaus, ordering him *to break a peace which he had no authority to make without the consent of the holy see.* We have already seen that the maxim had been introduced, *of not keeping faith with heretics*; from whence they concluded, that they were not obliged to keep it with Mahometans. Thus

Thus it was that old Rome violated the truce with Carthage in the last Punic war: but the event proved very different. The senate wantonly broke their engagements, from a desire of crushing a conquered republic; whereas the Christians were perfidious from a desire of repelling a nation of usurpers. At length Julian prevailed, the several generals and chiefs were carried away by the torrent, especially John Corvin Hunniades, that famous captain of the Hungarian armies, who fought so many battles against Amurath and Mahomet II.

Ladislaus, seduced by vain hopes, and by a doctrine which success alone could excuse, invaded the Turkish territories. The janizaries addressed themselves to Amurath, entreating him to quit his solitude, and to put himself at their head. The sultan having consented, the two armies met towards the Euxine Sea in that country, which now is called Bulgaria, formerly Mæsia. The battle was fought in the neighbourhood of the town of Varna. Amurath carried about him the treaty of peace, which had been but just concluded: in the midst of the engagement, at the very time when his troops were giving way, he pulled it out of his bosom, and begged of God, the punisher of perjurers, to avenge this outrageous violation of the law of nations. This is what gave occasion to the fable, that the peace had been sworn to upon the eucharist, that the host had been delivered into the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this host he directed his speech in the heat of the battle. Perjury for this once received the punishment it deserved; the Christians, after an obstinate resistance,

sistance, were intirely defeated. Ladislaus having been slain in the engagement, a janizary cut off his head, and carried it in triumph, from rank to rank, through the Turkish army; a spectacle which completed the victory.

After the pursuit was over, Amurath ordered the body of this prince to be interred on the field of battle, with all military solemnity. It is said also that he erected a monument upon his grave, and that the inscription, far from insulting the memory of the vanquished prince, extolled his courage, and lamented his misfortune.

Some say that cardinal Julian, who had been present at this engagement, was drowned by the weight of the gold he had about him, in attempting to cross a river in his flight. Others affirm, that he was killed by the Hungarians themselves; it is certain however, that he perished on this fatal day.

But what is most remarkable, Amurath after this victory returned to his solitude, abdicating the crown a second time, which a second time he was obliged to resume, in order to fight and conquer. At length he died at Adrianople, and ¹⁴⁵¹ left the empire to his son Mahomet II, who thought more of imitating the valour than the philosophy of his father.



C H A P. LXXVII.

Of Scanderbeg.

ANOTHER no less celebrated warrior, whom I know not whether to call a Turk or Christian, stopped the progress of Amurath; and

and for a long time defended Christendom against the victorious arms of Mahomet II. I mean to speak of Scanderbeg, who was born in Albania, a part of Epirus, a country famous in those old times which are called heroic, and in the real heroic times of the Romans. His name was John Castriot; and he was son of a despot, or of a little king of that country; that is, of a prince who was a vassal at the same time: for this is implied by the word *Despot*; so that it is very extraordinary that the appellation of *despotic* should have been given to potent sovereigns, who have made themselves absolute in their dominions.

John Castriot was yet an infant many years before the above-mentioned battle of Varna, when Amurath seized on Albania, after the decease of Castriot's father; and brought up this infant, the only one left of four brothers. The Turkish annals make no mention of these four princes having been sacrificed to the vindictive spirit of Amurath. And indeed it does not appear that these barbarities were consistent with the character of a sultan who twice had abdicated the crown; nor is it probable that he could have so tenderly loved and confided in a person, from whom he ought to have expected the most implacable aversion. He constantly caressed young Castriot, and kept him near his own person. On the other hand, Castriot shewed such signal marks of prowess, that the sultan and the janizaries gave him the name of *Scanderbeg*, which signifies *Lord Alexander*.

In short, friendship prevailed over good policy. Amurath entrusted him with the command of a small army against the despot of Servia, who had declared

declared in favour of the Christian cause, and was waging war against his son-in-law the sultan. This happened before his abdication. Scanderbeg, who was not then twenty years old, formed the design of throwing off his dependency, and of attaining the sovereign power.

Having had intelligence that a secretary, who carried the sultan's seals, was passing near his camp, he orders him to be arrested, and imprisoned: after which he forces him to sign an order to the governor of Croia, the capital of Epirus, to deliver up the town and citadel to Scanderbeg. When he had dispatched this order, he kills the secretary and his attendants. Then he marches ^{1443.} to Croia, and the governor resigns the command to him without any difficulty. That very night the Albanians, with whom he kept a correspondence, advance to the city walls; and he massacres the governor, together with the whole garrison. After this exploit the province of Albania is, by the means of his adherents, soon brought over to his interest. The Albanians are reckoned the best soldiers in that part of the world: Scanderbeg disciplined them so well, and posted himself so advantageously in that rough and mountainous country, that with a few troops he stopped the progress of large armies of the Turks. The Mahometans looked upon him as a traitor; but he had deceived only his enemies. He recovered his father's crown, which he deserved for his bravery.

C H A P. LXXVIII.

Of the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

IF the Greek emperors had shewn the same conduct and valour as Scanderbeg, the eastern empire would have been preserved. But that very spirit of cruelty, weakness, division, and superstition, which had brought it to so low an ebb, hastened now the moment of its destruction.

At that time they reckoned three empires of the east, when there was really never a one. The first empire was the city of Constantinople, then in the hands of the Greeks. Adrianople, the asylum of the family of the Lascaris, which had been taken by Amurath I, in 1362, and ever since continued in the possession of the sultans, was looked upon as the second : and a barbarous province of the ancient Colchis, named Trebizond, which had been the retreat of the Comneni, was reputed the third.

This dismembering of the empire was the only considerable effect of the crusades. After it had been ravaged by the Franks, it was recovered again by its ancient masters, but recovered to be once more exposed to depredations ; so that it was amazing it subsisted so long. There were two parties in Constantinople, both most virulently inflamed against each other, by the disputes about religion ; in the same manner almost as had been the case at Jerusalem, when besieged by Vespasian and Titus. The one was that of the emperors, who, from the vain hopes of receiving succours, consented to subject the Greek to the Latin church ;

church ; the other that of the priests and of the people, who having the invasion of the crusaders still fresh in their memories, detested the re-union of the two churches. Thus they wasted their time in religious controversies, while the Turks were at the city gates.

John VII Paleologus had reigned twenty-seven years ; and to such a low ebb was the empire reduced after his death, which happened in 1449, that one of his sons, Constantine by name, was obliged to receive the confirmation of the Imperial dignity from the Turkish sultan Amurath II, as from his sovereign. A brother of this Constantine had Lacedæmon, another was possessed of Corinth, and a third had that part of the Peloponnesus which was not subject to the Venetians.

Such was the situation of the Greeks, when ^{1451.} Mahomet Bouyouk, or Mahomet the Great, succeeded the second time to his father sultan Amurath. The monkish writers have painted this prince as a brutish barbarian, who at one time cut off the head of his pretended mistress Irene to pacify the murmuring of the janizaries ; and another time ripped open the bellies of fourteen of his pages, to see which of them had eaten a melon. We likewise find these absurd stories in our dictionaries, which for this long time have been no more than the alphabetical repositories of falsehood.

The Turkish annals unanimously inform us, that Mahomet had the best education of any prince in his time. What we have mentioned concerning his father Amurath, sufficiently proves that the latter had not neglected the instruction of his son and heir. Nor can it be denied, that Mahomet

homet had a high sense of filial duty, and stifled all sentiments of ambition, when he gave back the crown which Amurath had resigned to him. Twice he returned to the condition of a private subject, without exciting the least disturbance. This is the only example of the kind recorded in history; and it is so much the more extraordinary, as the violence of Mahomet's temper was in every respect equal to his ambition.

This celebrated prince spoke Greek, Arabic, and Persian; he likewise understood Latin, and drawing, and knew all that could be then known of geography and the mathematics. He was particularly fond of painting, insomuch that he sent to Venice, as every lover of the arts must have heard, for the famous Gentili Bellino, and rewarded him, as Alexander rewarded Apelles, with presents, and with his friendship. He gave him a crown of gold, and a gold collar, besides three thousand ducats, and sent him back with honour. I cannot help reckoning among improbable stories, that of the slave, whom Mahomet is pretended to have beheaded, in order to shew Bellino the effect of the muscles, and of the skin, on a neck severed from the body. These barbarities which we exercise on animals, are never practised by men upon their own species, except in the fury of their vengeance, and in what is commonly called the right of war. Mahomet II was oftentimes bloody and ferocious, as all conquerors are that have ravaged the world. But why should we charge him with such improbable cruelties? And to what purpose should we multiply these scenes of horror?

This

This prince was twenty-two years of age, when he ascended the throne of the sultans; from that time he bent his mind on the conquest of Constantinople, while this unhappy city was rent into factions, disputing whether they should make use of leavened or unleavened bread in the sacrament, and whether it was best to pray in Greek or Latin.

He began therefore with blockading this city on the side of Europe, and towards Asia. At length, the beginning of April 1453, the adjacent country was covered with near three hundred thousand Turks, and the strait of Propontis with about three hundred galleys, and two hundred smaller vessels.

One of the most extraordinary, and yet best attested facts, is the use which Mahomet made of those ships. They could not get into the port, the mouth being barricadoed with strong chains of iron, and besides, in all probability advantageously defended. One night therefore he orders the ground to be covered the length of two leagues with planks, which were greased with tallow, and laid like the manger of a ship; then by means of certain engines, fourscore galleys, and seventy tenders, or smaller vessels, were drawn from the strait, and conveyed over land. All this was performed in one night, and the besieged were astonished early the next morning, to see an entire fleet descend from the land into their harbour. The same day a bridge of boats was built within sight of them, and served for erecting a battery of cannon.

The city of Constantinople must either have had very little artillery, or this artillery must have been

been ill served. For how comes it that the cannon did not demolish this bridge of boats? But I question much, whether Mahomet, as they pretend, made use of two hundred pounders. It is common for the conquered to exaggerate every thing. There must have been near one hundred pounds of powder for the explosion of balls of that magnitude. This quantity of powder cannot take fire at once; the shot would go off before the fifteenth part had taken fire; and the ball would have but very little effect. Perhaps the Turks made use of such cannon through ignorance; and the Greeks might have been frightened also from the same cause.

In the month of May the Turks made a general assault upon this city, then considered as the capital of the world. It was but indifferently fortified, and not much better defended. The emperor, attended by a Roman cardinal, named Isidore, conformed to the Roman ritual, and thereby incensed and disheartened his Greek subjects, who would not so much as enter the churches which he frequented; *We had rather, said they, see a turban here than a cardinal's hat.*

At other times, almost all the Christian princes, under the pretence of a holy war, entered into a league to invade this metropolis and bulwark of Christendom; and now when it was attacked by the Turks, not one of them appeared to defend it.

The emperor Frederick III had neither power nor courage sufficient for such an enterprize. Poland was under a very bad government: France was scarcely rescued from that abyss of misery, into which its civil dissensions, and the war

war with the English had plunged it. England began to feel the weakness arising from domestic divisions. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, was indeed a potent prince, but had too much sagacity to renew the crusades by himself, and besides was too far advanced in years to enter upon such an expedition. The Italian princes were at war with one another. Arragon and Castile were not yet united; and the Mahometans still possessed a part of Spain.

There were only two princes in Europe, qualified for entering the lists with Mahomet II. One was Hunniades, prince of Transylvania; but he happened at that time to be hardly able to defend his own country. The other was the famous Scanderberg, who could only maintain his ground in the mountains of Epirus, in the same manner very near as Pelagius defended himself formerly in the mountains of Asturia, when the Mahometans subdued Spain. Four Genoese ships, one of which belonged to the emperor Frederick III, were the only succour almost which the Christian world lent to Constantinople. A foreigner commanded in the town, whose name was Justinian, a native of Genoa. Every building reduced to external support, threatens ruin. The old Greeks never had a Persian at their head; nor were the troops of the republic of Rome ever commanded by a Gaul. In this situation of affairs Constantinople could not avoid being taken; and accordingly it was taken, but in quite a different manner from that related by all our authors, who have only copied Ducas and Chalcondylas.

In

In the Turkish annals digested at Constantinople, by the late prince Demetrius Cantemir, it is related, that after a forty-nine days siege, the emperor Constantine was obliged to capitulate. He sent several Greeks to receive the law of the conqueror, and they agreed upon many articles. But just as the deputies were returning back to the city, Mahomet recollecting something which he had still further to say, orders his people to ride after them. The besieged beholding, from the top of the ramparts, a body of Turks galloping after the deputies, imprudently fire at them. The Turks are soon joined by a greater number. The Greek envoys are already entering by a postern, when the enemy enter pell-mell along with them, and make themselves masters of the upper town, which is separated from the lower. The emperor is killed in the crowd, and Mahomet immediately converts the palace of Constantine the Great into a seraglio, and St. Sophia into his principal mosque.

The sultan having thus made himself master of one half of Constantinople, had the humanity, or the good policy, to grant the same capitulation to the other half, as he had offered to the whole city; and he religiously observed it. This is so far true, that all the Christian churches of the lower town were preserved till the reign of his grandson Selim, who ordered many of them to be demolished. They were called the *mosques of Issévi*, which is the Turkish name for *Jesus*. That of the Greek patriarch still subsists at Constantinople on the canal of the Black sea. The Turks have permitted an academy to be founded in this quarter, where there are professors to teach

teach the ancient Greek, which is no longer the living language, as also Aristotle's philosophy, theology, and physic: this is the school that formed Constantine Ducas, Mauro Cordato, and Cantemir, whom the Turks made princes of Moldavia. I own that Demetrius Cantemir has related a great many idle fables, but he could not be mistaken in regard to the modern institutions which he saw himself, nor to the academy where he was educated.

In consequence of a grant made to a Greek architect, named Christobulus, the Christians still preserve a church, and an intire street in Constantinople. This architect had been employed by Mahomet II to build a mosque on the ruins of *the church of the holy Apostles*, an ancient work of Theodora, wife of the emperor Justinian; and he succeeded in erecting an edifice not much inferior to St. Sophia in beauty. He built likewise, by Mahomet's orders, eight schools, and eight hospitals, dependent on this mosque; and it was to reward this service that the sultan granted him the street I mentioned, which still remains in his family. It is not a fact worthy of history, that a master-builder should have an estate in houses; but it is important to know that the Turks do not always treat the Christians as barbarously as we imagine. Whole nations are deceived by historical errors. A number of western writers pretend, that the Mahometans worshipped Venus, and denied providence. Even Grotius himself tells us more than once, that Mahomet, that great but false prophet, had taught a pigeon to fly towards his ear, and made people believe that the Divine Spirit instructed

him under that form. A multitude of stories, all equally ridiculous, have been invented, to blacken the memory of Mahomet II.

But notwithstanding the declamations of cardinal Isidore, and of so many others, it evidently appears, that Mahomet was a prince of greater moderation, and politer accomplishments, than we are willing to believe, by his permitting the conquered Christians to chuse their patriarch. He instaled him himself with the usual solemnity; and gave him the crozier and ring which the western emperors had long since been afraid to give. If in any thing he deviated from the usual ceremony, it was to reconduct the elected patriarch Gennadius to the gates of his palace; when the patriarch told him, *that he was quite ashamed of an honour which the Christian emperors had never done to his predecessors.* Since that time the Turkish sultans have constantly appointed a patriarch, who is called *Oecumenical*. The pope nominates another, who is stiled the Latin patriarch; each of them is taxed by the divan, and the tax is paid by their miserable flock. These two churches equally groaning under oppression, are nevertheless irreconcilable; and to pacify their quarrels is, at present, a considerable task of the sultans, who are become moderators, as well as conquerors of the Christians.

These conquerors did not behave in the same manner towards the Greeks, as they behaved heretofore, that is, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, towards the Arabs, whose language, manners, and religion, they adopted. At the time the Turks subdued the Arabs, they were mere barbarians; but when they conquered the Greek

Greek empire, the constitution of their government had been long settled. They had a respect for the Arabs, and a contempt for the Greeks: hence they have had no other intercourse with the latter, than that which is betwixt masters and slaves.

They have retained all the same customs and laws as they had at the time of making their conquests. The militia of *Jengi-Cheris's*, whom we call Janizaries, subsisted then in full vigour, and the same number as at present; that is, about forty thousand. Of all the soldiers upon the face of the earth, these are the best fed. Each *oda** of janizaries has a purveyor, who supplies them with mutton, rice, butter, pulse, and bread in plenty.

The sultans have preserved the ancient custom which they followed before in Asia, of bestowing fiefs for life, and some of them hereditary, upon their troops. This custom they did not borrow of the caliphs, whom they dethroned. The Arabian government was founded on different principles. The western Tartars used always to divide the conquered lands. So early as the fifth century they had made this regulation in Europe; a regulation that unites the victors to a government which is become their inheritance; and the nations that intermixed with them, as Lombards, Franks, Normans, followed this plan. Tamerlane carried it to the Indies, where, to this very day, are the greatest lords of fiefs, under the different names of Omras, Rajas, and Nabobs. But the Turks never gave large estates. Their Zaimats, and their Timariots, are rather farms than lordships. This institution plainly shews the mi-

* An *oda* is a kind of casern, where a certain number of janizaries lodge and mess together.

litary spirit. If a Zaim* is slain in battle, his children share his fief; if he dies a natural death, the Beglerbeg, that is, the general of the troops of the province, may nominate to this military benefice. Those Zaims and Timars have no right but that of leading soldiers to the field, as was heretofore the custom of the Franks; they have no titles, jurisdiction, or nobility.

From these same schools they have always drawn the Cadis †, the Mollas, who are their ordinary judges, and the two Cadi-Leskers ‡ of Asia and Europe, who are judges of the provinces, and of the armies; and who, under the Muphti, have the direction of religion and laws. The Muphti and the Cadi-Leskers have been ever subject to the divan. The Dervis §, who are the same as mendicant friars with us, have multiplied, and never varied. The custom of erecting caravanserais for travellers, with schools and hospitals near all their mosques, has never degenerated. In a word, the Turks are still what they were, not only at the taking of Constantinople, but when they first invaded Europe.

* A *Zaim* in Arabic signifies a person that leads a certain number of men into the field; and the lands they possess are called *Zaimats*.

† The *Cadis* are judges of civil causes throughout the Turkish empire; but strictly speaking the word *Cadis* is taken for the judge of a town, and *Molla* for the judge of a province.

‡ The *Cadi-Lesker*, in the Turkish empire, is the chief justice, who determines causes in the divan. *Cadi* signifies a judge, and *Lesker* an army, because his office originally extended to the trying of soldiers: but that jurisdiction is now at an end; for the soldiers have the privilege of being tried only by their own officers. See Sir Paul Ricaut of the Ottoman empire.

§ *Dervis* signifies poor, or detached from the world, and is a name common to all sorts of Turkish friars.

C H A P. LXXIX.

Of the progress of the Turks.

DURING a reign of one and thirty years, Mahomet marched on from conquest to conquest, without being opposed by any league of Christian princes: for we must not give the name of *league* to a very short understanding between Hunniades prince of Transylvania, the king of Hungary, and a despot of black Russia. This famous captain Hunniades gave convincing proofs that if he had been better assisted, the Christians would not have been stripped of all those countries which the Mahometans now possess in Europe. He repulsed Mahomet II from before Belgrade, three years before the taking of Constantinople.

At this same time the Persians fell upon the Turks, and diverted the torrent with which Christianity was overwhelmed. Ussum Cassan, of the branch of Tamerlane, called the *White Ram*, and governor of Armenia, had lately subdued Persia. He intermarried with Christians, whereby he gave them a hint to unite against the common enemy: for he married the daughter of David Comnenus, emperor of Trebisonde. The Christians were not allowed to marry their godmothers, or cousins; and yet we find, that in Greece, Spain, and Asia, they made no scruple of intermarrying with Mahometans.

The Tartar Ussum Cassan, son-in-law of the Christian emperor David Comnenus, attacked Mahomet on the banks of the Euphrates. This was

a favourable opportunity for the Christians; and yet it was also neglected. They suffered Mahomet, after various success, to conclude a peace with the Persian; to take Trebifond, with part of Cappadocia that depended on it; to turn his arms against Greece; to seize on Negropont; to return to the extremity of the Black sea; to make himself master of Cassa, the ancient Theodosia rebuilt by the Genoese; to return and reduce Scutari, Zante, and Cephalonia; to make inroads up to Trieste at the very gates of Venice; and, at length, to establish the Mahometan power in the middle of Calabria, where he menaced the rest of Italy, and from whence his generals did not withdraw till after his decease. He did not indeed succeed in the siege of Rhodes, but though he missed taking this little island, still the rest of the western world were not the less struck with the terror of his arms.

Mahomet had conquered Epirus after the death of Scanderbeg; when the Venetians had the courage to oppose his arms. This was the æra of the Venetian power; they had a considerable extent of territory on the continent, while their fleets bid defiance to the naval power of Mahomet, and made the conquest of Athens. But, at length, this republic receiving no succours, was obliged to give up Athens, and moreover to purchase, by an annual tribute, the liberty of trading to the Black sea, imagining thus to repair her losses by commerce, which had laid the foundation of her grandeur. We shall see that soon after, pope Julius II, and almost all the Christian princes, did more mischief to this republic, than it had suffered from the Ottomans.

In

In the mean-while Mahomet II was preparing to carry his victorious arms against the Mamelukes of Egypt, at the time that his generals were still in the kingdom of Naples: he flattered himself that afterwards he should be able to take Rome as easily as he had taken Constantinople; and hearing mention made of the ceremony with which the doge of Venice marries the Adriatic, he said, *that he would soon send him to the bottom of that sea to consummate his marriage.* A colic pain freed the world of him at the age of fifty-one. The Turks have nevertheless preserved a more extensive and more beautiful territory in Europe, than all Italy. The country of the Miltiades's, the Leonidas's, the Alexander's, the Sophocles's, and the Plato's, soon relapsed into barbarism. The Greek language from that time was corrupted; and there scarce remained the least vestige of the liberal arts: for though there is a Greek academy at Constantinople, yet it is far from being comparable to that of Athens; neither have the arts been re-established by the six thousand monks whom the Turks permit to live on mount Athos. Formerly that very same Constantinople was under the protection of Athens; and Chalcedon paid tribute to it. The king of Thrace courted the honour of being ranked as one of her citizens. But now, the descendants of the Tartars lord it over that fine country, while the name of Greece can hardly be said to subsist. Yet the little town of Athens will be ever more celebrated with us, than the Turks her oppressors, were they even to be lords of the universe.

The Greeks remained in a state of oppression, though not of slavery; they were suffered to re-

tain their religion and their laws: on which occasion the Turks behaved in the same manner as the Arabians had behaved in Spain. The Greek families continue in their country, despised, but unmolested: they pay only a small tribute, carry on a trifling commerce, and cultivate the lands; their cities and their towns have still their *protogeros* who decides their disputes; and they allow an honourable support to their patriarch. This prelate must certainly draw very considerable sums from them, since he pays, at his installation, four thousand ducats to the Imperial exchequer, and as many more to the officers of the Port.

The greatest subjection the Greeks are under, is the obligation of supplying the sultan, by way of tribute, with a number of children, to serve in the seraglio, or among the janizaries. A father of a family is compelled to give one of his sons, or to ransom him. There are Christian provinces in Europe, where the custom obtains of appointing children for the army from their very cradle. These children of tribute, brought up by the Turks, used to make great fortunes in the seraglio. Even the condition of janizaries is tolerable. It is a great proof of the force of education, and of the strange constitution of human affairs, that most of those proud enemies of Christianity should be born of Christian parents. It was still a greater proof of the irresistible fatality, by which the supreme Being connects the several events of this world, that Constantinople should have been built by Constantine for the Turks; as the foundation of the capitol had been laid so many
ages

ages before by Romulus for the Roman pontiffs.

Here I think it incumbent upon me to combat a vulgar error, that the Turks live under an absurd kind of government, called *despotic*; that the people are all slaves to the sultan; that they have no sort of property; but that their lives and estates belong to their master. Such a government would destroy itself. Besides, it would be very extraordinary, that the conquered Greeks should be free, and their conquerors slaves. Some travellers imagine, that the lands all belong to the sultan, because he makes timariots for life, as formerly the kings of the Franks granted military benefices. These gentlemen should have considered that there are laws of inheritance in Turkey, as every where else.

True it is that the personal estates of the bashaws devolve to the sultan at their decease, and that he gives what part he pleases to the family. But this was a custom established in Europe when the fiefs were not hereditary; and a long time after, even the bishops themselves inherited the personal estates of the lower clergy, while the popes exercised this right over the cardinals, and over all the incumbents who died within the residence of the supreme pontiff.

The Turks are not only free, but they have no distinction of nobility among them: they know no other superiority but that of employments.

In their manners they are fierce and haughty, and at the same time effeminate: their fierceness they derive from the Scythians their ancestors, and

their softness from Greece and Asia. Their pride is excessive: they are conquerors and ignorant; which is the cause of their despising all other nations.

The Ottoman empire is not a monarchical government, tempered by mildness and moderation, like those of France and Spain; much less does it resemble Germany, a republic of princes and of towns, under a supreme head who has the title of emperor. It partakes nothing of Poland, where the husbandmen are slaves, and the nobles are kings; and it is as different from England in constitution as in climate. Yet we must not imagine, that it is in every respect an arbitrary government, where the law allows a single person to sacrifice to his wanton fancy a multitude of men, like so many deer kept for his pleasure.

Our prejudices are such that we fancy a Chiaus* can, staff in hand, command all the house-keepers of a town, in the sultan's name, to deliver up their money and their daughters for the use of his master. There are doubtless horrid abuses in the Turkish government, but, generally speaking, these abuses are less fatal to the common people than to those who have a share in the administration: it is they that feel the utmost rigour of despotic power. The private sen-

* The *Cbiauses* are officers of the grand signor, employed in executing his orders, and carrying dispatches to different parts of the empire. There are about five or six hundred of them. Their captain, or chief, is called *Chiaus Bashaw*. They are sometimes sent as ambassadors into foreign countries: the word *Cbiau* is of Turkish original, and signifies *sent*. See Tavernier, relat. du sér.

tence of a divan * is sufficient to sacrifice the heads of the principal men upon the least suspicion. There is no great body established in this country to render the laws respectable, and the sovereign's person sacred: no barrier of the constitution against the unjust encroachments of the vizir. Hence there is very little remedy for the subject when he is oppressed, or for the master when a conspiracy is formed against his life. The grand signor, though considered as the most potent sovereign in the world, is at the same time the least settled on the throne; he is deposed in one day's insurrection. In this the Turks have followed the manners of the Greek empire; only they have a greater respect for the Ottoman family, than the Greeks had for their emperors. They depose, they murder a sultan, but always in favour of the next heir. On the contrary, the Greek empire had, by divers assassinations, passed through twenty different families.

The fear of being dethroned is a greater check to the Turkish emperors, than all the laws of the Koran. Though he is absolute master in his seraglio, master of the lives of his officers by means of the *Mufti's fetfas* †, yet he has not the same power

* *Divan* is a council-chamber or court of justice among the oriental nations, particularly the Turks. It is an Arabic word, which signifies an *alcove*, or *bed room*. See Tavernier, Thevenot, &c.

† The *Mufti* is the chief of the ecclesiastical order, or prime of the Mahometan religion. His authority is very great, and when he determines any point, the grand signor, by whom he is chosen, never contradicts him. In solving difficulties his answer is very short, *yes*, or *no*; and sometimes adding, *God knows better*. These answers are called *Fetfas*, which, in the Turkish language, signifies a *sentence*; and in Arabic, *the answer*, or *judgment*

power over the customs of the empire : he cannot increase the taxes, nor meddle with the public money ; even his private treasure is separate from that of the public.

The sultan's office is sometimes the most easy in the world, while that of the grand vizir is the most laborious ; the latter is at the same time constable, chancellor, and first president. The reward of so much toil is frequently banishment or strangling.

The post of bashaw used to be no less dangerous ; and, till very lately, their fate has been generally a violent death. All this proves, that they were long an unpolished people, with the same barbarity of manners as that which prevailed for many ages in the Christian provinces of Europe, when such a number of heads were chopped off upon the scaffold ; when La Brosse, the favourite of St. Lewis, was hanged ; when the minister Laguerre expired under the rack, in the reign of Charles the Fair, ; when Charles de la Cerda, constable of France, was executed without form of trial, under king John ; when Anguran de Marigni was hanged at Montfaucon upon a gibbet of his own erecting ; when the body of the prime minister Montaigu was carried to the same gibbet ; when the grand master of the knights templars expired in the flames ; and when such cruelties were common in monarchical states. We should be greatly mistaken, were we to imagine that these barbarities were a consequence of absolute power. Not one Christian prince at

ment of a wise man. They are of such force that when they are delivered to the Cadi, or judge, he is obliged to conform to them, without appeal.

that

that time was despotic ; nor is the grand seignor so now. It is true that several sultans made all laws bend to their will ; for instance, Mahomet II, Selim, and Solyman. Conquerors meet with very little opposition from their subjects ; but our historians are mistaken, when they look upon the Ottoman empire as a government essentially despotic.

Count Marsigli, who was better informed of these matters, expresses himself thus : *We find that all our historians extol the supreme power, which is thus despotically exercised by the sultan : but how wide are they from the real truth* * ! He says that the militia of the janizaries, who remain at Constantinople, and are called Capiculi, are empowered by the laws to imprison the sultan, to put him to death, and to appoint his successor. He adds, that the grand seignor is frequently obliged to consult the civil and military officers in concluding peace or war.

Neither are the bashaws absolute in their provinces, as we commonly imagine ; for they depend upon the divan. The principal inhabitants have a right to complain of their conduct, and to send memorials against them to the grand divan of Constantinople. In a word, Marsigli concludes with qualifying the Turkish government as a democracy. And indeed it is nearly such a democracy as that of Tunis or Algiers. Those sultans, whom the people dare not look in the face, who are accosted with such prostrations as bear the resemblance of divine worship, have only

* In tutte le nostre storie sentiamo esaltar la sovranità, che così despoticamente praticasi dal sultano : ma quanto si scostano elle dal vero !

the externals of despotism ; they are not absolute, except when they know how to exert that lust for arbitrary power, which seems to be innate in all mankind. Lewis XI, Henry VIII, and Sixtus Quintus, were as despotic as any sultan whatever. Were we thus to fathom the secrets of Asiatic thrones, which are seldom revealed to strangers, we should find that there is not so much despotism in the world as people imagine. In Europe we have seen princes, who are vassals to a limited monarch, act with more arbitrary authority in their own territories than the emperors of Persia and India. And yet it would be very wrong to imagine, that the territories of those princes are by their constitution subject to a despotic government.

Most histories of modern nations, except perhaps those of England and Germany, lead us into error, because they seldom distinguish between times and persons, between law and abuses, between occasional events and established customs.

We should be likewise mistaken, were we to fancy that the Turkish government is an uniform administration, and that couriers set out every day from the seraglio with orders to the governors of the several provinces. This vast empire, which was formed by conquest at different times, and which continued, as we shall see, to increase in power till the eighteenth century, is composed of thirty different nations, that have neither the same language, religion, nor manners. They are Greeks of the ancient Ionia, on the coast of Asia Minor and Achaia; they are the inhabitants of the Taurica Chersonesus; they are the Getes converted to Christianity, and known by the name
of

of Walachians and Moldavians; they are Aràbs, Armenians, Bulgarians, Illyrians, Jews; in fine, they are Egyptians, and successors of the ancient Carthaginians, who, as we shall see, were swallowed up in the Ottoman power. All these nations the Turkish militia alone has conquered, and still holds in subjection. They are all differently governed: some submit to princes appointed by the Port, as Walachia, Moldavia, and Crim Tartary. The Greeks live under a municipal administration, dependent on a bashaw. The number of the conquered is immense, in comparison to that of the conquerors; there are but very few native Turks; not one of them cultivates the earth, or applies himself to the liberal arts. We may say of them what Virgil says of the Romans, *their art is to command* *. The great difference between the Turkish conquerors and the ancient Romans, is, that the latter incorporated themselves with all the vanquished nations, whereas the former continue separate from those whom they have subdued, and by whom they are surrounded.

It is true there are about three hundred thousand Greeks in Constantinople; but of these there are three thousand artificers, or merchants, that toil for their lords and masters. They are a whole conquered nation still permitted to live in their capital, but not so much as suffered to wear the Turkish dress.

* *Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento :
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.*

Æn, lib. 6.

To this remark let us add, that one single power subdued all this country from the Archipelago to the Euphrates, and yet twenty combined powers, with all their crusades, could make but very short settlements in those same provinces, though they had twenty times the number of soldiers, and they had made repeated attempts for the space of two hundred years.

Sir Paul Ricaut, an author who lived long in Turkey, attributes the stability of the Ottoman empire to a *supernatural power*. He cannot conceive how such a government, which depends on the caprice of the janizaries, should be able to support itself against its own soldiers, and its enemies. But the Roman empire lasted five hundred years at Rome, and near fourteen centuries in the east, notwithstanding the constant mutinying of armies; the sovereigns were dethroned, but the throne subsisted. The Turks have the same veneration for the Ottoman line: this is in some measure their fundamental law: the sultan is often deposed; but as we have already observed, the empire is never given away to a strange family. There is therefore no danger of the internal constitution of the empire, though the emperor and the vizirs are often in danger.

Hitherto this empire has not been afraid of foreign invasions. The Persians have seldom broke in upon the Turkish frontiers. On the contrary, we shall see sultan Amurath IV taking Bagdat by storm from the Persians in 1638, and still continuing master of Mesopotamia, while he sends a body of troops, on the one hand, to the great Mogul against Persia; and, on the other, threatens the Venetians. The Germans have never
appeared

appeared at the gates of Constantinople, as the Turks have done before Vienna. The Russians are grown formidable to the Turks, only since the reign of Peter the Great. In a word, the Ottoman empire owes its beginning to strength and ferocity, and its continuance to the divisions of Christian princes. In all this there is nothing supernatural. We shall see in what manner this empire increased in power, and long retained its barbarous customs, which at length are grown more civilized.



C H A P. LXXX.

Of Lewis XI, king of France.

THE feudal government soon expired in France, after Charles VII had begun to establish his power by the expulsion of the English, by the acquisition of so many provinces reunited to the crown, and, in fine, by perpetuating the subsidies.

For a contrary reason the feudal order was established in Germany under elective emperors, who, as emperors, had neither territories nor subsidies. Italy was still divided into republics and independent principalities. Spain and the North were both strangers to absolute power; while England, in the midst of its divisions, was sowing the seeds of that extraordinary government, whose root, though often cut, and often moistened with blood, has at length, after a series

ries of ages, produced, to the surprize of nations, an equal mixture of liberty and regal authority.

In France there were only two great fiefs remaining, Burgundy and Britany : but their power rendered them independent ; and notwithstanding the feudal laws, they were not considered in Europe as a part of the kingdom. The duke of Burgundy, Philip the *Good*, had even stipulated that he should not yield homage to Charles VII, when he forgave him the murder of duke John his father.

The princes of the blood in France had peerages for their appanage, but dependent on the jurisdiction of the parliament. The lords, so powerful on their lands, had no longer that power which they formerly enjoyed, in the state : there was scarce any beyond the Loire but the count of Foix that intituled himself *prince by the grace of God*, and coined money ; but the lords of the fiefs, and the corporations of the great cities had immense privileges.

Lewis XI, son of Charles VII, was the first absolute king in Europe, since the decline of the house of Charlemagn. He did not attain the easy enjoyment of this power till after violent commotions. His life is a most remarkable contrast of virtue and vice. Must he, to the disgrace and confusion of virtue, deserve to be considered as a great king, he who is described as an unnatural son, a cruel brother, a bad father, and a perfidious neighbour ? He embittered the latter end of his father's days, and was the cause of his death : for the unfortunate Charles VII died, as every one knows, through fear lest his son should

should destroy him ; chusing to starve himself in order to avoid the poison which he so much dreaded. This fear alone in a father, of being poisoned by his own son, proves but too well that the latter was looked upon as capable of committing the flagitious deed.

After maturely examining the whole conduct of Lewis XI, may we not look upon him as a man who wanted to colour his acts of violence by base artifice, and to maintain his impostures by cruelty ? How comes it that in the beginning of his reign, so many lords who had been strongly attached to his father, and especially the famous count de Dunois, whose sword had been the support of the crown, entered into a confederacy against him *for the public good* ? They had taken no advantage of the weakness of the government, a thing so often done ; but Lewis XI made a bad use of its strength. Is it not plain, that the father, instructed by his own mistakes and misfortunes, had governed extremely well ; and that the son, too much elated by power, began with governing ill ?

By this confederacy he was in danger of losing his crown and his life. The battle fought at ^{1465.} Montlery, did not prove decisive ; so that he could not disunite the confederates, till he granted to each of them what they demanded. Thus there was even a mixture of weakness where he shewed his abilities.

Without any manner of reason he made Charles the son of Philip the Good, who was master of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Flanders, Artois, of the towns on the Somme, and of Holland ; he made this prince, I say, his implacable enemy.

He

He stirred up the people of Liege to commit a perfidious act against this duke of Burgundy, and to take up arms against him. At the same time he put himself in this prince's power at Perronne, thinking thereby to deceive him. Could there be
 2468. a worse policy! But he was detected, and after having been kept prisoner in the castle of Perronne, he was obliged to attend his vassal against those very people of Liege, whom he had spirited up to rebellion. Could there be a greater humiliation!

He is afraid of his brother the duke of Berry, in consequence of which this prince is poisoned by his confessor, a Benedictine monk, named Favre Vesois. This is not one of those dubious impositions, which the malicious vulgar are apt to swallow without proof. The duke of Berry was at supper, and sat between his mistress the lady of Montforau and his confessor. The latter caused a very large peach to be set before them; the lady expired immediately upon eating of it; the prince fell into terrible convulsions, and died soon after.

Odet Daidie, a brave nobleman, desirous of revenging the duke's death, to whom he had been always attached, carried the guilty monk out of Lewis's jurisdiction into Brittany. Here he was fairly tried; but the day they were to pass sentence, he was found dead in his bed. To quiet the public clamour, Lewis ordered the writings to be brought to him, and appointed commissioners; but they decided nothing, and the king amply rewarded them. There were very few in Europe who doubted that Lewis had committed this crime, he, who when dauphin, had made his father afraid of his life.

Histo-
rians.

rians ought not to accuse him without sufficient proof, but they ought to be sorry for his having deserved this suspicion : they should observe, that every prince who has been guilty of a notorious crime, is guilty also of all the rash judgments which the people make on his actions.

Such was the conduct of Lewis XI towards his vassals and his relations ; let us now see how he behaved towards his neighbours. Edward IV, king of England, lands in France, in order to recover the conquests of his ancestors. Lewis is¹⁴⁷⁵ able to fight him, but chuses rather to pay tribute. He bribes the chief officers among the English, makes presents of wine to the whole army, and purchases the return of this army into England. Would it not have been more becoming the dignity of a king of France, to employ the money spent in seducing the person whom he had no reason to dread, and whom he ought not to have dreaded, to employ it, I say, in making preparations to oppose him ?

Princes of generous minds are not afraid of chusing men of rank and abilities, for their favourites and ministers. Lewis XI had none hardly for his confidants and ministers, but persons of mean birth, whose minds were still lower than their condition.

Few tyrants ever put more citizens to death by the hands of the common executioner, and by more exquisite torments, than Lewis XI. The annals of the time mention four thousand subjects executed either in public or in private during his reign. Dungeons, iron cages, chains, with which his victims were loaded, are the monuments left

us by this monarch, which we behold with horror.

It is surprizing that father Daniel scarce so
 1477. much as mentions the execution of James d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours, a known descendant of Clovis. The circumstances and apparatus of his death, the confiscation of his estate, the dungeons in which his young children were shut up till the death of Lewis XI, are melancholy as well as interesting subjects of curiosity. It is not known for certain what crime this prince committed. He was tried by commissioners, from whence we may presume he was not guilty. Some historians charge him in general with having intended to seize the king, and to employ a person to kill the dauphin. Such a charge deserves no credit. A petty prince who had taken shelter at the foot of the Pyrenees, could hardly at that distance, and in time of full peace, seize on Lewis XI, who was absolute and all powerful in his dominions. The notion of killing the dauphin, who was yet an infant, and of preserving the father, is one of those extravagant whims that never could come into the head of a statesman. This however is beyond doubt, that Lewis XI hated the house of Armagnac, that he gave orders for arresting the duke of Nemours at Carlat in 1477, that he confined him in an iron cage in the bastille, that having drawn up the indictment himself, he commissioned judges to try him, among whom was Philip de Comines, a famous traitor, who having long betrayed the secrets of the house of Burgundy to the king, went over to the service of France, and whose memoirs are esteemed, though written with the reserve of

a courtier, who was afraid to tell the truth even after the death of Lewis XI.

The king ordered the duke of Nemours to be examined, racked, and condemned in his iron cage. He afterwards confessed to a priest in a hall hung with black. The confessing to a priest was a favour which began to be granted to criminals. The black hanging was the ceremony observed with princes. Thus was Conradin executed at Naples, and thus was Mary Stuart afterwards treated in England.

But cruel, beyond all example, was it in Lewis XI to place the duke's young children under the scaffold in the market-hall at Paris, to receive their father's blood upon their heads. Accordingly they went from thence all covered with it; in which condition they were carried to the bastille, and put into dungeons made in the form of scuttles, where their bodies were in continual pain. A detail of the shocking torments they underwent, would be incredible, were it not attested by the petition, which those unfortunate princes presented to the states after the death of Lewis XI in 1483.

Never was there less honour than during this reign. The judges were not ashamed to share the spoils even of persons on whom they had pronounced sentence.

The preceding times, notwithstanding the fierce and barbarous manners of the people, had been productive of some heroes. In the reign of Charles VII there was a Dunois, a La Trimouille, a Clifson, a Richemont, a Saintraille, a La Hire, all magistrates of great merit: but under Lewis XI there was not one great man. He degraded the nation: there was no virtue left: submission supplied

plied the stead of every other qualification, and the people at length grew as tame as galley slaves.

And yet this artful and obdurate wretch had two propensities, which ought naturally to have humanized his manners, namely, love and devotion. He had mistresses, by whom he had had three bastards; and besides, he used to go on pilgrimages. Love indeed was part of his natural character; but his devotion was only the superstitious fear of a weak inordinate mind. He was always covered with relics, and wore a leaden image of our lady on his cap, of whom it is pretended that he used to ask forgiveness for his assassinations even before he committed them. He gave the county of Bologna, by contract, to the blessed Virgin. Surely piety does not consist in making the Virgin a countess, but in abstaining from such actions as our conscience condemns, and God must punish?

He introduced the Italian custom of ringing a bell at noon, and of saying an *Ave Maria*. He asked the pope for the privilege of wearing the surplice and the amict*, and of being anointed a second time with the oil of the holy vial of Rheims.

At length perceiving the approach of death, he shut himself up in the castle of Pleffis-les-tours, where, inaccessible to his subjects, surrounded with guards, and devoured with inquietude, he sent to Calabria for an hermit, whose name was Francis Martorillo, since revered by the name of

* The *Amict* is a linen garment covering the head and shoulders, and worn by the priests of the church of Rome, when they celebrate mass.

St. Francis of Paula. He throws himself at his feet, and with tears in his eyes, beseeches him to intercede with God that he may prolong his life; as if the eternal order of things ought to have changed at the voice of a Calabrian in a French village, only that a weak and perverse mind might remain in a rotten carcass, longer than nature would permit: While thus he fues to a foreign hermit for life, he thinks to re-animate his old body by drinking plentifully of childrens blood, which he vainly hoped would correct the sharpness of his own.

It is impossible to meet with a more wretched fate than this prince did, in the midst of prosperity, continually tortured by an uneasy mind, by remorse, by fear, and by the vexation of being hated.

And yet he was the first king of France that took upon him the title of the most Christian, almost at the same time that Ferdinand of Arragon, a prince as famous for his perfidy as for his conquests, assumed the name of Catholic. Such a multitude of vices however did not deprive Lewis XI of his good qualities. He did not want courage, but could attack an enemy like a king; he understood mankind, and was versed in business; he would likewise have justice administered, suffering none but himself to be unjust with impunity.

After Paris had been laid waste by a contagion, it was repeopled through his care and vigilance; it is true, that among the new inhabitants there was a great number of thieves and vagabonds, but the severity of the magistrates soon made them good citizens. In his reign there

were fourscore thousand inhabitants in that city able to bear arms. To him the people are indebted for the first humiliation of the nobility ; an event for which about fifty families complained, and more than five hundred thousand had reason to rejoice.

It is he that established the post-office, but not in the manner in which it is regulated at present in all parts of Europe. He only renewed the *veredarii* * of Charlemaign, and of the ancient Roman empire. Two hundred and thirty messengers were always employed in carrying his orders. Private people might ride the horses appointed for these messengers, paying ten pence a horse for every station of four leagues. The letters were delivered from town to town by the king's messengers ; a regulation which for a long time obtained only in France. He wanted to render the weights and measures uniform throughout his dominions, as they had been in the time of Charlemaign. In fine, he was an instance that a bad man can promote the public good, where it does not clash with his private interest.

The imposts under Charles VII, independently of the crown lands, amounted to seventeen hundred thousand livres ; under Lewis XI they increased to four millions seven hundred thousand livres ; and the livre being at that time ten to the mark, this sum amounted to three and twenty

* *Veredarius* is a word used in the times of base latinity, to signify a messenger, or even a postmaster, from *veredus*, a post horse, or hunting nag.

*Stragula succincti venator sume veredi ;
Nam solet a nudo surgere ficius equo.*

Mart. 14. 86.

millions five hundred thousand livres present money. If, pursuing these proportions, we examine into the price of provisions, and especially of corn, the principal branch of human support, we shall find that it was not half so much as in our days. Thus, three and twenty millions went as far with them, as forty six with us.

Such was the power of France, before Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Artois, the territory of Boulogne, the towns on the Somme, Provence, and Anjou, were by Lewis XI incorporated with the French monarchy. France soon rose to be the most powerful kingdom in Europe; it was like a river increased by twenty lesser streams, and cleared of the dirt and mud which had long disturbed its waters.

Titles at that time began to be given to power: Lewis XI was the first king of France who took that of *Majesty*, which the emperor only had hitherto borne; but the German chancery would never give it to any king, till very lately. The kings of Arragon, Castile, and Portugal, had the title of *Highness*; and the king of England was stiled *your Grace*. Lewis XI might be stiled *your Despotism*.

We have seen by what a series of successful crimes he became the first absolute king in Europe, since the grand establishment of feudal government. Ferdinand the Catholic could not attain the same power in Arragon. Isabella, by her artifices, had prepared the Castilians for passive obedience, but she did not rule despotically. Each state, each province, each town in Europe, had its particular privileges. The feudal lords often opposed these privileges, while the kings endeavoured

voured to reduce both lords and towns alike under their obedience. None of them obtained their ends except Lewis XI; but it was by shedding the blood of the Armagnacs and the Luxemburgs on a scaffold, by sacrificing every thing to his suspicions, and by giving immense rewards to those who executed his bloody purposes. Isabella of Castile went to work with more cunning, and without bloodshed. For instance, if she wants to reunite the dutchy of Placentia to the crown; by insinuations and money she stirs up the duke of Placentia's vassals against him: they assemble in a body, and insist on becoming vassals to the queen; and she consents out of complaisance.

At the same time that Lewis XI increased his power over the people by his severity, he enlarged his kingdom by his industry. He obtained Provence of the last sovereign count of that country, whereby he wrested a great fief from the empire, just as Philip of Valois had acquired Dauphiné. Anjou and Maine, which belonged to the count of Provence, were likewise reunited to the crown. Policy, money, and good fortune, gradually extended the limits of the kingdom of France, which since Hugh Capet's time had made no great figure, and which the English had brought to the brink of destruction. This same good fortune reunited Burgundy to France, and by the blunders of the last duke the body of the state recovered a province, which had been imprudently separated from it.

C H A P. LXXXI.

*Of Burgundy and the Swiss at the time of Lewis XI,
in the fifteenth century.*

CHARLES the *bold*, who derived his original in a direct line from John king of France, was possessed of the dukedom of Burgundy, as the appanage of his family, with the towns on the Somme which had been yielded to him by Charles VII. By right of succession he had Franche-Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almost all Holland. His towns in the Low Countries enjoyed a most flourishing trade, which almost rivalled that of Venice. Antwerp was the staple of the northern nations: in Gaunt there were fifty thousand artificers employed in the woollen manufactory. Bruges was as trading a town as Antwerp. Arras was celebrated for its beautiful tapestries, which still go by its name in Germany, England and Italy.

The princes at that time were accustomed to sell their territories, when they wanted money, just as a private person may now sell his house or estate. This custom had subsisted ever since the time of the crusades. Ferdinand king of Aragon sold Roussillon to Lewis XI, with the equity of redemption. Charles duke of Burgundy had lately purchased Guelderland. The duke of Austria had likewise sold him whatever territories he possessed in Alsace and in the neighbourhood of Swisserland. This acquisition was worth a great deal more than Charles gave for it. He was now master of a compact territory,

from the banks of the Somme to the gates of Strasbourg. His business would have been to enjoy it: few kings in Europe were so potent as he; none was richer, or more magnificent. His intent was to erect his dominions into a kingdom; which some time or other might have been extremely prejudicial to France. All that was requisite for this purpose, was to purchase a diploma of the emperor Frederick III. For the custom still continued of applying to the emperor for the title of king; an homage paid to the ancient grandeur of the Roman name. The negotiation miscarried; but Charles intending to add Lorrain and Swisserland to his dominions, was very sure, if he succeeded, of making himself king without any other prince's permission.

His ambition wore no disguise; which was chiefly the reason why they gave him the surname of *Bold*. We may judge of his pride by
 1474. the reception he gave to the Swiss deputies. Historians of that country affirm, that the duke obliged those deputies to address him upon their knees: a strange contrast in the manners of a free people, who not long after were his conquerors!

The duke of Burgundy's pretension, to which the Helvetians submitted, was founded on this. A great many Swiss towns were inclosed within the territories, which he purchased of the duke of Austria: and Charles imagined he had made a purchase of slaves. Besides, it had been the custom for the deputies of the commons to address the king of France on their knees; and the duke of Burgundy had preserved the ceremonial of the head of his family. We have elsewhere observed that
 several

Several kings after the emperor's example had insisted on the ceremony of the knee from those who accosted them, or waited at their table; and that this Asiatic custom had been introduced by Constantine, and before him by Dioclesian. Thence also arose the usage that a vassal did homage to his lord, on both his knees. Thence also the ceremony of kissing the pope's toe. Such is the history of human vanity.

Philip of Comines, and the torrent of succeeding historians, pretend that the war against the Swiss, which proved so fatal to the duke of Burgundy, was owing to a cart loaded with sheep skins. The most trifling incident will produce a war, when princes have a mind to quarrel: but long before that, Lewis XI had been inciting the Swiss against the duke of Burgundy, and many acts of hostility had been committed on both sides before the accident of the cart. It is therefore very certain that the ambition of Charles the Bold was the only cause of the war.

At that time there were only eight Swiss cantons: Fribourg, Soleure, Schaffhouse and Appenzel, had not yet joined in the confederacy. Basil an Imperial city, whose situation on the Rhine rendered it both powerful and wealthy, did not constitute a part of this infant republic, which had nothing but the poverty, simplicity, and valour of its inhabitants to distinguish it. The deputies of Berne represented to this ambitious prince, that their whole country was not worth his troopers spurs: they did not address him on their knees; but spoke with modesty, and defended themselves with bravery.

1476.

The duke's gendarms, all covered with gold, were twice intirely routed by these simple peasants, who were astonished at the riches they found in the enemy's camp.

Who could have thought at that time, when the biggest diamond in Europe, taken by a Swiss soldier in this battle, was sold to his general for a crown; who, I say, could have thought that there would be one day much finer and wealthier cities in Swisserland, than even the capital of the dukedom of Burgundy? These people were long unacquainted with the luxury of diamonds and embroidered silks; and as soon as it was known, it was prohibited: but solid riches, which consist in the cultivation of the earth, have been gathered there by free and victorious hands. In our days they have begun to study the conveniences of life. All the sweets of society, together with the improvements of sound philosophy, without which society has no charms, have made their way into some particular spots of Swisserland, where they enjoy a milder climate together with the blessings of plenty. In fine, the inhabitants of this country, formerly so rude and uncultivated, may in some places be said to have joined the urbanity of Athens to the simplicity of Sparta.

Charles the bold wanted to wreak his vengeance on Lorrain, and to wrest the town of Nanci, which he had taken once before, from duke René its lawful sovereign. But those very Swiss, who had defeated him before, assisted by their countrymen of Fribourg and Soleure, who by this very act shewed themselves worthy of their alliance, routed once more the troops of this usurper, when

when he purchased with his blood the name of *Bold*, which has been given him by posterity. 1477.

Then it was that Lewis XI took possession of Artois, of the towns on the Somme, of the dukedom of Burgundy as a fief male, and of the city of Befançon by the right of conveniency.

Princess Mary, daughter of Charles the bold, and heirefs to so many provinces, was thus stripped at-once of two thirds of her territories. The seventeen provinces which this princess still preserved, might have been likewise joined to the kingdom of France, had she married the son of Lewis XI, who vainly flattered himself that he might make her his daughter-in-law, while he was stripping her of her patrimony. Thus this great politician missed the opportunity of uniting Franche-Compté and all the Netherlands to the French monarchy.

The inhabitants of Gaunt and the rest of the Flemmings, who enjoyed more liberty at that time under their sovereigns, than even the English do at present under their kings, obliged their princess to marry Maximilian son of the emperor Frederick III.

In our days the people hear of the marriages of their princes, of peace and war, of new taxes, and indeed of their most essential concerns, by the declaration of their sovereigns; but it was not so in Flanders. The inhabitants of Gaunt insisted that their princess should marry a German; and so strenuously did they insist upon it, that they brought Mary of Burgundy's chancellor, and Imbercourt her chamberlain, to the block, for endeavouring to give her away to the dauphin of France. These two ministers were executed

in the presence of the young princess, who in vain entreated that ferocious people to pardon them.

Maximilian being thus invited rather by the inhabitants of Gaunt, than by the princess, concluded the marriage like a private gentleman, who makes his fortune by marrying an heiress: his wife defrayed the expences of his journey, and maintained both him and his retinue. He had the princess, but not her dominions; in short, he was only the consort of a sovereign: and after the death of his wife, when he was intrusted with the guardianship of his son, when he had the administration of the Netherlands, and even when he was elected Cæsar and king of the Romans, the people of Bruges detained him in prison four months for infringing their privileges. If princes have often abused their power, the people have as often abused their rights.

This marriage between the heiress of Burgundy and Maximilian, proved the source of all those wars, which for such a series of years set the houses of France and Austria at variance. It is this that gave rise to the grandeur of Charles V; this that had like to have enslaved all Europe: and only because the citizens of Gaunt would have the disposing of their princess in marriage.

C H A P. LXXXII.
Of CHIVALRY.

THE extinction of the house of Burgundy, the government of Lewis XI, and especially the new manner of waging war which had been introduced over all Europe, contributed insensibly to abolish what we call Chivalry, a kind of dignity and confraternity, of which there soon remained no more than a weak and imperfect idea.

This chivalry was a warlike institution, introduced among the nobility, as the devout confraternities had been established among the burghers. The anarchy and confusion under which Europe laboured upon the decline of the house of Charlemaign, gave rise to this institution. Dukes, counts, vicounts, vidames *, castellains †, were grown sovereigns on their own estates: they waged war against each other; but instead of those great armies of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemaign, almost all Europe was divided into small bodies of seven or eight hundred men, and sometimes less. Two or three towns formed a petty state, which was continually at war with its neighbour. There was no longer any communication between the provinces, no longer any high roads, no longer any security for the merchants, though the public could not do with-

* The judge of a bishop's temporal jurisdiction. The word is derived from *Vicedominus*, which signifies a vicar, or steward of a lord.

† The constable or governor of a castle, *castellanus*, who commanded in the absence of the lord.

out them : every lord or castellan extorted from them on the road ; and the multitude of towers on the banks of rivers and in narrow passages of mountains, were only so many nests or lurking holes of robbers. They carried off the women, and plundered the merchants.

A great many lords insensibly entered into an association, and even vowed, to maintain the public security and to protect the ladies. This virtuous institution received a greater force by being made a religious act. Thus associations were formed in almost all the provinces : every lord of a great fief held it an honour to be a knight, and to be admitted into the order.

Towards the eleventh century they established both religious and civil ceremonies, which seemed to give a new character to the candidate : he was obliged to fast, to confess and receive the sacrament, and to pass a whole night armed cap-a-pee. He was made to dine by himself at a separate table, while his godfathers and the ladies who were to put on his armour and to dub him knight, eat at another. For his part, he was clad in a white tunic, and sat at his side-table, where he was forbid to speak, to laugh, or even to eat. The next day he entered the church with his sword hanging about his neck, and the priest gave him his benediction ; afterwards he knelt down before the lord or lady who was to put on his armour. The persons of the first rank that assisted at the ceremony, put on his spurs, clad him with a cuirass, with brasslets*,

* Armour for the arms,

cuisse,

cuisse^{*}, gauntlets[†], and with a coat of mail. The godfather who installed him, touched him three times on the shoulder with the flat side of his sword, in the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George. From that time forward, so often as he heard mass, he drew his sword, and held it erect when the priest read the Gospel.

This installation was followed by high festivals, and oftentimes by tournaments. The great lords of the fiefs laid a tax on their subjects for the day, on which their children were to enter the order of knighthood. It was generally at the age of one and twenty that they received this title; before that time they were batchelors, which signified the same as *bas chevalier*, inferior knights, or varlets, and squires; and the lords who had entered the confraternity, sent their children to one another's houses, in order to be educated far from their parents, by the name of varlets, in the apprenticeship of chivalry.

The time of the crusades was the period in which the knights were most in vogue. The feudal lords, who led their vassals under their flag, were called knights bannerets; not that the bare title of knight gave them a right to appear in the field with a flag. It was power only, and not the ceremony of dubbing, that qualified them to have troops under their command. They were bannerets in virtue of their fiefs, and not of chivalry. This title was only a distinction introduced by custom, and an honour by courtesy; it was never a real dignity in the state,

* Armour for the thighs.

† An iron glove used for defence, and thrown down in challenges.

nor had it ever any influence on the form of government. The elections of the emperors and of kings were not made by knights; there was no necessity of having been dubbed to be admitted into the Imperial diet, into the parliament of France, or the *cortes* of Spain. The infeoffments, the rights of jurisdiction and dependance, the inheritances, the laws, every thing in fine that was essential, had no sort of relation to this sort of chivalry. The great privileges of this institution consisted in the bloody sports called tournaments. Neither a batchelor, nor a squire, generally speaking, were suffered to juggle with a knight.

Even kings themselves would be armed as knights, but this gave them no addition of dignity or power; their intent was only to encourage chivalry and valour by their example. The knights had a great respect shewn them in society; and this was all the advantage they enjoyed.

In process of time, when king Edward III instituted the order of the garter; Philip the good, duke of Burgundy, the order of the Goldenfleece; and Lewis XI the order of St. Michael, in the beginning as much respected as the other two, and now so ridiculously debased; then the ancient chivalry declined. It had no longer any mark of distinction, nor a head that could confer particular honours or privileges. There were no longer any knights bannerets, when kings and great princes had established regular companies in their armies; then the ancient chivalry became only an empty name. But it was still thought an honour to be dubbed by a great prince, or by a famous warrior: those lords who were constituted in some dignity, added to their
title

title the quality of knight; and all those who made profession of arms, assumed that of esquire.

The military orders of knighthood, as the Templars, the knights of Malta, the Teutonic order, and so many others, are an imitation of the ancient chivalry, which joined the ceremonies of religion to military duty. But this kind of chivalry was absolutely different from the ancient. It produced the monastic military orders, founded by popes, possessed of benefices, and bound by the three monastic vows. Of these extraordinary orders, some have been great conquerors, others have been suppressed for their debauchery, and others subsist still with dignity.

The Teutonic order was a sovereign power; the order of Malta is so still, and is likely so to continue.

There is scarce a prince in Europe, that has not thought proper to institute an order of knighthood. The simple title of knight, which the kings of England confer on private citizens, without enrolling them in any particular order, is a derivation from the ancient chivalry, but very remote from its source. Its genuine descent has been preserved only in the ceremony, by which the kings of France always confer the honour of knighthood, on the ambassadors sent from Venice; and the *accolade* or embracing about the neck, is the only ceremony preserved in this installation.

In the picture here exhibited we see a great variety; and if we would attentively follow the chain of the several customs of Europe since the time of Charlemain, in respect to government, to the church, to war, to dignities, to finances, to society,

society, and even to garb and dress, we should find nothing but a perpetual vicissitude.



CH A P. LXXXIII.

Of the feudal government after Lewis XI, in the fifteenth century.

YOU have seen in what manner the anarchy of Italy, France, and Germany, was turned into despotism under Charlemaign; and how despotism was subverted by anarchy under his descendants.

You are sensible it is a mistake to think that the fiefs were not hereditary before the time of Hugh Capet. Normandy is a convincing proof of the contrary. Bavaria and Aquitain were hereditary before Charlemaign: and almost all the fiefs were such in Italy under the Lombard kings. In the reigns of Charles the Fat and the Simple, the great officers, as well as some bishops, assumed the rights and prerogatives of sovereignty. But there had been always proprietors of large estates in land, who were called *Sires* in France, *Herren* in Germany, and *Ricos Hombres* * in Spain. There had been also some large cities, governed by their own magistrates, as Rome, Milan, Lyons, Rheims, &c. The limits of the privileges and liberties of those cities, as well as those of the power or prerogative of the lords, have been perpetually shifting. Force

* *Rich men,*

and fortune have generally decided these matters. If these great officers turned usurpers, Charlemagne's father did the same. Pepin, grandson of Arnold, the preceptor of Dagobert and bishop of Mets, stripped the race of Clovis. Hugh Capet dethroned the posterity of Pepin; and Hugh's descendants could never unite the scattered members of the ancient monarchy.

The feudal power in France received a mortal wound from Lewis XI. Ferdinand and Isabella were fighting against it in Castile and Arragon. In England it made way for a mixt government. In Poland it subsisted under another form. But it was in Germany that it preserved and even increased its vigour. The count de Boulainvilliers calls this constitution, *an effort of the human understanding*. Loiseau and other lawyers stile it, *a whimsical institution, a headless monster*.

That the proprietors of lands should chuse to be masters on their own estates, does not seem to be such a mighty effort of genius, but a natural and very common effect of reason and human cupidity. From the further extremity of Russia as far as the mountains of Castile, all the great lords have had the same idea, without communicating it to each other: they have been all desirous that neither their lives nor estates should depend on the arbitrary will of a king: against this power they have all associated in every country; and yet they have all exercised it, as far as they could, over their own subjects. Thus was Europe governed for above five hundred years. This form of administration was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans: but it is not odd or whimsical, since it is so generally
esta-

established in Europe. It seems unjust, inasmuch as the major part of mankind are oppressed by the smaller; and a private citizen can never rise but by a general confusion. Under a feudal government there are no great cities, no commerce, no polite arts. The powerful cities in Germany and Flanders, flourished only in consequence of a small shadow of liberty. The city of Gaunt, for example, as well as Bruges and Antwerp, were more in the nature of republics under the protection of the dukes of Burgundy, than subject to the arbitrary power of those princes. The same may be said of the Imperial cities.

You have seen how the feudal anarchy was established in great part of Europe under the successors of Charlemaign. But before his time there had been a more regular administration of fiefs under the Lombard kings in Italy. The Franks who invaded Gaul, shared the spoils with Clovis: hence the count de Boulainvilliers insists that the castellains or lords of manors are all sovereigns in France. But where is the estate whose owner can say, I am descended from a conqueror of Gaul? And even were he descended in a right line from one of those usurpers, would not the cities and the common people have a better right to resume their liberties, than this Frank had to enslave them?

It cannot be said that the feudal jurisdiction was established in Germany by right of conquest, as in Lombardy and France. No foreign nation ever made the conquest of all Germany; and yet of all countries in the world this is the only one, in which the feudal jurisdictions really
subsist.

subsist. The Boiards of Russia have their subjects; but they are subjects also themselves, and do not compose a body like the princes of Germany. The khans of Crim Tartary, the princes of Walachia and Moldavia, are indeed feudal lords, who depend on the Turkish sultan. But they may be deposed by an order of the divan; whereas the German princes cannot without a decree of the whole nation. There is a greater equality among the nobles of Poland, than among the proprietors of lands in Germany, and yet theirs is not a feudal government. There are no rear-vassals in Poland: one noble is not subject to another as in Germany: Poland is an aristocratical republic, in which the common people are slaves.

In Italy the feudal laws subsist in a different manner. All estates in Lombardy are reckoned fiefs of the empire, and this occasions a prodigious deal of confusion: for if ever the emperors were paramounts of those fiefs, it was only as kings of Italy, and successors to those of Lombardy. Now the diet of Ratisbon surely is not sovereign of Italy. But what is the consequence? The Germanic liberty having prevailed over the Imperial authority in Germany, and the empire being grown a distinct thing from the emperor, the lords of Italian fiefs are therefore called the empire's, but not the emperor's vassals. Thus one feudal administration is become subject to another. The kingdom of Naples is also a different kind of fief. It is an homage which the strong pays to the weak; a ceremony kept up by custom.

The feudal jurisdictions prevailed in all parts of Europe, and yet the laws of fiefs were different
in

in each country. For instance, the male branch of the house of Burgundy happens to be extinct, and Lewis XI thinks himself intitled to inherit that estate. If the branch of Saxony or Bavaria had failed, the emperor would have had no right to seize on these provinces. Much less could the pope pretend to seize on the kingdom of Naples, should the reigning house be extinct. These rights are established by force, custom, and compact. And indeed Lewis XI acquired his by force; for there was still living a prince of the house of Burgundy, namely, the count of Nevers, a descendant of the first of his branch, who was instituted duke of Burgundy by king John; and yet this prince dared not so much as to claim his right. It was likewise a very dubious case, whether Mary of Burgundy, ought not to have succeeded. In the donation of Burgundy by king John, it is mentioned that the *heirs should succeed*; and surely a daughter is heir.

The question about male and female fiefs, the right of liege or simple homage, the uncertainty of lords who were vassals of two paramours at the same time for different lands, or who were vassals to paramours that disputed about the supreme jurisdiction; these and a thousand other difficulties gave rise to those suits which the sword alone could decide. The fortunes of private people were still in a worse situation.

What a situation for instance must it be, for a husbandman to be subject to a lord, who is himself subject to another lord, and this still dependent on a third! If he has a suit, he must go through all these courts, and spend all he has before he can obtain a definitive sentence.

Surely

Surely it was not the people that ever of their own choice appointed this form of government. There is no country worth inhabiting, but where all orders owe equal obedience to the laws.



C H A P. LXXXIV.

Of Charles VIII, and the state of Europe when he undertook the conquest of Naples.

LEWIS XI left behind him one son, viz. Charles VIII, a prince only fourteen years of age, of a feeble constitution, and with little or no education, but possessed of the most powerful kingdom in Europe. He left him also a civil war, the almost inseparable companion of minorities. The king indeed was not a minor according to the law of Charles V; but he was under age according to the law of nature. His eldest sister Anne, wife of the duke of Bourbon Baujeau, was by her father's will entrusted with the regency, which she really deserved. Lewis duke of Orleans, the first prince of the blood, who was afterwards that very king Lewis XII, whose memory is so dear to France, began with shewing himself the scourge of the state, to which he afterwards behaved himself as a father. On the one hand, his quality of first prince of the blood, so far from procuring him any share in the government, did not even give him the precedence over the other peers more ancient than himself. On the other, it always seemed very odd, that a woman, whom the law excludes from

from the throne, should rule the state under another name. The duke of Orleans, excited by ambition (which excites even the most virtuous) engaged in a civil war against his sovereign, in order to be his guardian.

The parliament of Paris perceived then the influence which it was likely one day to acquire in the case of minorities. The duke of Orleans addressed himself to this court, to obtain a decree for changing the administration. The first president, La Vaquerie, made answer that neither the finances, nor the administration of the realm, were points that belonged to the jurisdiction of the parliament, but to the States general, whom the court of parliament does not represent.

By this answer it appears that Paris was then quiet, and that the parliament was in the interest of madame de Beaujeu. The civil war was carried on in the provinces, and especially in 1488. Britany, where the old duke Francis II sided with the duke of Orleans. At length both parties came to an engagement near St. Aubin in Britany. Here we are to observe, that in the duke of Orleans's army there were four or five hundred English, notwithstanding the troubles with which their own country was at that time exhausted. Whenever an opportunity offers of attacking France, the English are seldom neuter. Lewis de la Trimouille, a great general, defeated the rebels, and took their chief the duke of Orleans prisoner, who was afterwards his sovereign. We may reckon him the third of the Capetian kings taken in battle, but not the last. The duke was confined near three years in the 1491. tower of Bourges, till Charles VIII went himself

self in person to set him at liberty. The French at that time must have been a more humane people than the English, who amidst the distractions of civil war, generally put their prisoners to death by the hands of the executioner *.

The peace and grandeur of France were cemented by the marriage of Charles VIII, who at length compelled the old duke of Britany to give him his daughter and his dominions. The princess Anne of Britany, one of the finest women in her time, was in love with the duke of Orleans, who still had youth on his side, and was withal a most graceful person. Thus by this civil war he lost both his liberty and his mistress.

In Europe the marriages of princes frequently decide the fate of nations. King Charles VIII, who in his father's life-time might have married Mary the heiress of the house of Burgundy, had it still in his power to marry the daughter of this Mary, and of Maximilian king of the Romans; and Maximilian on his side, the widower of Mary of Burgundy, had good reason to flatter himself with the hopes of obtaining princess Anne of Britany. He had actually married her by proxy; and the count of Nassau had in the name of the king of the Romans put one leg into the princess's bed, according to the custom of those times. But this did not hinder the king of France from concluding his marriage. He obtained the princess, and for her portion Britany, which was afterwards reduced to a province of France.

This kingdom was then at its highest pitch of glory; and indeed nothing but the great number

* See chapter XCIV.

of mistakes its princes committed, could have hindered them from being the arbiters of Europe.

You may remember how the last count of Provence bequeathed that country by will to Lewis XI. This count, in whom ended the house of Anjou, took the title of king of the two Sicilies, which his family had long since lost; a title which he conveyed to Lewis XI, at the same time that he made him a real donation of Provence. Charles VIII, resolving not to wear an empty title, soon prepared every thing necessary for the conquest of Naples, and to establish his dominion in Italy. We must take a view of the state of Europe at the time when these events happened, *viz.* towards the end of the fifteenth century.



C H A P. LXXXV.

State of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century.

1493. **T**HE emperor Frederick III, of the house of Austria, was lately dead: he left the empire to his son Maximilian, who had been chosen king of the Romans in his father's lifetime. But these kings of the Romans had no longer any power in Italy; the authority they had in Germany was no greater than that of the doge at Venice; and, upon the whole, the house of Austria was far from being formidable. In vain do they still shew the following epitaph at Vienna:

Vienna : here lies the pious, the august emperor Frederick III, sovereign of Christendom, king of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, archduke of Austria, &c. it only shews the vanity of inscriptions. He never possessed any thing belonging to Hungary, except the crown adorned with some jewels, which he always kept in his cabinet, refusing to send them either to his pupil Ladislaus, who was king of that country, or to those who were afterwards chosen by the Hungarians, and who fought against the Turks. He was hardly master of one half of the province of Austria ; his cousins had the rest ; and as to the title of sovereign of Christendom, it is easy to see whether he deserved it. His son Maximilian had, besides his father's demesnes, the administration of the territories belonging to his wife Mary of Burgundy, in the name of his son Philip the Handsome. Every one knows that he was called *Massimiliano pochi danari*, *Maximilian with little money* ; a surname that did not at all prove him to have been a powerful prince.

England had been almost laid waste by the long civil wars between the white and red roses, as we shall presently relate more at large ; but now it was beginning to recover itself a little under king Henry VII, who, after the example of Lewis XI, humbled the barons, and raised the commons.

Of S P A I N.

Of the unfortunate reign of Henry IV, surnamed the Impotent. Of Isabella and Ferdinand. The taking of Granada. The Jews and Moors persecuted.

IN Spain the Christian princes had been constantly divided. The race of Henry Transamare, a bastard and usurper (since we must call things by their right name) was still upon the throne of Castile, when an usurpation of a more extraordinary kind gave rise to the Spanish grandeur.

Henry IV, one of the descendants of Transamare, who began his unhappy reign in 1454, was a voluptuous prince. Never was there a court entirely abandoned to debauchery, which did not experience some revolution, or was not at least disturbed by insurrections. His wife Donna Juana, whom I thus distinguish both from her daughter Joan, and from the other princesses of that name, was daughter of a king of Portugal, but of so abandoned a character that she carried on her amours without any sort of disguise. Few women ever had less regard for decorum in their intrigues. King Henry IV passed his days with his wife's gallants, and these did the same with the king's mistresses. Thus the court set the nation an example of the greatest licentiousness. By this unhappy conduct the government was so weakened, that the malecontents, who are generally the most numerous at all times and in all countries,

tries, grew to be a formidable party in Castile. This kingdom had the same form of government as that which long obtained in France, England, Germany, and the several monarchies of Europe. The vassals shared the supreme authority. The bishops were not sovereign princes as in Germany; but they were lords, and great vassals, as in France.

An archbishop of Toledo, whose name was Carillo, and several other prelates, headed the faction against the king. The same disorders broke out in Spain as had afflicted France in the reign of Lewis the Debonnair, as disturbed the peace of Germany under so many emperors, and as we shall see revived in France at the time of Henry III, and as spread desolation through Great Britain in the reign of Charles I.

The rebels growing powerful, deposed their king in effigy. Never was the like ceremony thought of before. A great stage was erected on the plains of Avila: and on this stage was placed a statue of wood, representing don Henry in his royal robes. The archbishop of Toledo stripped him of his crown, another of his sword, another of his sceptre, and a younger brother of Henry, named Alfonso, was declared king on the same spot. This farce was attended with all the horrors of civil war. These troubles did not end at the death of the young prince, to whom the conspirators conveyed the crown. At the very time that the king lived, as it were, in a seraglio, the archbishop and his party declared him impotent; and by a most extraordinary method of proceeding, they deter-

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mined that his daughter Joan was a bastard, and born in adultery.

Among the grandees several pretended to the regal dignity : but the rebels resolved to acknowledge Isabella, the king's sister, and only seventeen years old, for their sovereign, sooner than submit to any of their equals ; preferring rather to weaken the state in the name of a young princess, who, as yet, had neither authority nor influence, than to chuse themselves a master.

The archbishop having therefore levied war against his king, in the infant's name, continued it in the name of the infanta ; so that the king had no other way to extricate himself from his troubles, and to continue upon the throne, than by concluding one of the most ignominious treaties that ever was signed by a sovereign. He
1468. acknowledged his sister Isabella as his only legitimate heir, contrary to the rights of his daughter Joan ; and upon this condition the rebels left him the name of a king.

In order to accomplish their design, it was incumbent upon them to chuse such a husband for Isabella, as should be able to support her cause. They cast their eye on Ferdinand, heir apparent to the crown of Arragon, a prince nearly of the same age as Isabella. The archbishop married them privately ; and this marriage, though concluded under such unfavourable auspices, proved the foundation of the Spanish greatness. At first it created dissensions, civil broils, fraudulent conventions, and false reconciliations, which are
1469. productive of greater hatred. After one of these treaties of reconciliation, Henry was seized with
a vio-

a violent illness, at an entertainment to which he had been invited by some of his late enemies, and ^{1474.} he died very soon after.

In vain did he leave his kingdom at his death to his daughter Joan; in vain did he swear that she was his lawful issue; neither his oath upon his death-bed, nor his wife's oath, could prevail against Isabella, and Ferdinand, surnamed afterwards the Catholic, king of Arragon and Sicily. They lived together, not like two married persons, whose goods are common to each other under the direction of the husband; but as two monarchs strictly allied in friendship. They neither loved, nor hated each other; they met but seldom; they had their privy councils separate; they often entertained a mutual jealousy in regard to the administration, though the queen was more jealous on account of the infidelity of her husband, who filled all the great offices of state with his bastards. However, they were inseparably united in regard to their interests, acting constantly on the same principles, having ever the words *religion* and *piety* in their mouths, while their hearts were intirely actuated by ambition. Joan, the right heiress of Castile, was not able to withstand their joint forces. Her uncle don Alfonso, king of Portugal, took up arms in favour of his niece, whom he intended to marry. But the conclusion of all these efforts and troubles, was that the unhappy princess, who had been designed for a throne, was condemned to spend the remainder ^{1479.} of her days in a monastery.

Never was injustice more successful, nor more artfully coloured by the resolute and prudent conduct

duct of the usurpers. Isabella and Ferdinand formed such a power as Spain had never beheld since the re-establishment of Christianity. The Mahometan Arabians had only the kingdom of Granada, so that they were just upon the brink of ruin in this part of Europe, while the Turkish Mahometans seemed likely to subdue the other. The Christians had lost Spain by their divisions in the beginning of the eighth century; and the same cause drove the Moors at length out of this kingdom.

Boabdilla, nephew to Alboacen king of Granada, had rebelled against his uncle. Ferdinand the Catholic laid hold of this opportunity of fomenting the civil war, and of supporting the nephew against the uncle, in order to weaken both parties. Soon after the death of Alboacen, he attacked his ally Boabdilla with the joint forces of Castile and Arragon. His arms were six years employed in the conquest of the Mahometan kingdom. At length he besieged Granada; the siege lasted eight months, and Isabella went thither in person to enjoy the triumph. King Boabdilla surrendered on such conditions as shewed that he was still able to make a defence. For it was stipulated that the Spaniards should neither meddle with the goods, nor with the laws, liberty, nor religion of the Moors; that even their prisoners should be returned without ransom; and that the Jews included in the treaty should enjoy the same privileges. Upon these conditions Boabdilla marched out of his capital, and delivered up the keys to Ferdinand and Isabella, who for the last time treated him as a king.

Cotemporary writers make mention that this prince shed tears as he turned his face towards the walls of Granada; a city built near 500 years before by the Mahometans; a city populous, and abounding in riches; a city, in short, adorned with that vast palace of the Moorish kings, in which were the finest baths in Europe, and whose numerous halls, with arched roofs, were supported by a hundred columns of alabaster. The luxury which he so much regretted, was probably the cause of his ruin: to conclude the scene, he went and ended his days in Africa.

Ferdinand was considered in Europe as the avenger of the cause of religion, and the deliverer of his country. From that time he was called king of Spain; and indeed being master of Castile in right of his wife, of Granada by conquest, and of Arragon by birth, he wanted only Navarre, which he afterwards invaded. He had great disputes with France about Cerdagne and Roussillon, which had been mortgaged to Lewis XI. It is easy to judge, whether as king of Sicily, he did not look with a jealous eye on the preparations which Charles the VIIIth was making for his expedition into Italy, in order to dispossess the house of Arragon, at that time established on the throne of Naples.

We shall soon see the effects of so natural a jealousy. But before we consider the quarrels of kings, you chuse to observe the fate of the people. You see that Ferdinand and Isabella did not find Spain in the state it was afterwards under Charles V and Philip II. This mixture of ancient Visigoths, Vandals, Africans, Jews, and Aborigines, had laid waste the country about

which they contested; it grew fruitful only in the hands of Mahometans. When the Moors were subdued, they tilled the land for their conquerors, so that the Spanish Christians subsisted intirely by the labour of their ancient enemies. Those Christians had no manufactures, no commerce; they had but very little of the conveniences of life, hardly any furniture in their houses, no inns upon the great roads, no accommodations in the towns; they were long strangers to fine linen; and even coarse linen was very scarce. All their foreign and inland trade was carried on by Jews, who were grown necessary to a nation that understood nothing but the military art.

When an inquiry was set on foot towards the end of the fourteenth century, that is, in 1492, into the cause of the misery of Spain, it was found that the Jews had drawn all the money of the country into their own hands by trade and usury. They reckoned in Spain above a hundred and fifty thousand of that odious but necessary race. Several of the grandees who had nothing left but their titles, married into Jewish families, to retrieve the losses occasioned by their former extravagance: and this they did so much the easier, as it had been long usual for the Moors and Christians to intermarry. It was debated in the council of Ferdinand and Isabella, in what manner they should free themselves from the silent tyranny of the Jews, after having shaken off the yoke of the Arabian conquerors. At length the resolution was taken in 1492, to strip and banish them. They were allowed only six months to dispose of their effects, which they were

were obliged to sell at an undervalue. They were forbid upon pain of death, to carry away either gold, silver, or precious stones. Thirty thousand Jewish families withdrew from Spain; this makes a hundred and fifty thousand souls, reckoning five to a family. Some passed over to Africa, others retired to Portugal and France, and several went back, pretending to embrace Christianity. They had been exiled, in order to take possession of their riches; they were received again, because they brought riches with them: and it is chiefly against them that the tribunal of the inquisition was erected, to the end that upon exercising the least act of their religion, they might be juridically stripped of their property and lives. Not so do the Indians treat the Banians, who are exactly upon the same footing there as the Jews in Europe, separated from all nations by a religion as ancient as the annals of the world, united with them by the necessity of commerce, in which they act as factors, and as rich as the Jews in our part of the globe. These Banians are neither hated by Mahometans, Christians, nor Pagans; but the Jews are held in detestation by all nations whatever. Some Spanish writers pretend, that these people were grown formidable. They were dangerous indeed by the usury, which they extorted of the Spaniards; but as they were not trained to war, there was no reason to be afraid of them. The Spaniards pretended also to be alarmed at the vain notions, which these people had of being settled on the southern coasts of this kingdom, long before the profession of Christianity. It is true they had been in Andalusia time immemorial. This truth they enveloped

with ridiculous fables, such as have been always vended among this nation, the sensible part of whom apply themselves wholly to trade, while priestcraft is left to those who can do no better. The Spanish rabbies had writ a great deal, to prove that a colony of Jews flourished on this coast at the time of Solomon, and that the ancient Betica was tributary to this third king of Palestine. They had recourse to counterfeit medals, and forged inscriptions. This kind of knavery, together with other more essential accusations, contributed not a little to precipitate their ruin.

Ever since that time the Spaniards have made a distinction betwixt the old and new Christians, between the families that intermarried with Mahometan or Jewish women.

Yet the government made but a short advantage of the oppression of this nation of usurers; for they soon felt the want of the revenue which the Jews used to pay to the exchequer. The difference continued to be sensible, till they came to collect the treasures of the new world. They redressed the evil as well as they could by pontifical bulls. That of the crusade, which was granted by Julius II in 1509 produced more to the government than the tax upon Jews. Every body is obliged to purchase this bull, in order that he may be intitled to eat flesh in Lent, and on Fridays and Saturdays throughout the year. They who go to confession cannot receive absolution without shewing this bull to the priest. They have since invented the *bull of composition*, in virtue of which you are permitted to keep stolen goods, provided you don't know the owner of them. Superstitions

perfections of this kind are as rank as those with which the Jews are charged. Folly and vice contribute every where to the public revenue.

The form of absolution granted to those who purchase the bull, is not unworthy of a place in this general view of the customs and manners of mankind : *by the authority of almighty God, of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of our holy father the pope, to me committed, I grant you remission of all your sins confessed, forgotten, and unknown ; as also of the pains of purgatory.*

Queen Isabella, or rather cardinal Ximenez, treated the Mahometans afterwards in the same manner as the Jews : a great number of them were forced to turn Christians, notwithstanding the capitulation of Granada ; and if they returned to their own religion, they were burnt. As many Mahometans as Jews took shelter in Africa, and yet no body could pity those Arabs who had kept Spain so long in subjection, nor those Jews who had so long plundered the kingdom.

The Portuguese were at this time emerging from obscurity ; and notwithstanding the general ignorance which then prevailed, they began to deserve a glory as lasting as the world itself, by the change of universal commerce, which was soon the fruit of their discoveries. They were the first of the European nations that navigated the Atlantic ocean. The passage round the cape of Good Hope they found it by themselves ; whereas Spain owed the discovery of America to foreigners. But it is to one man only, to the infant don Henry, that the Portuguese are indebted for this undertaking, against which they murmured in the beginning. Never was there a

great, or noble enterprize in any part of the world, but what was the work of some one person of genius and resolution, who had courage to oppose the prejudices of the vulgar.

Portugal was so taken up with her great naval expeditions, and with her successes in Africa; that she did not concern herself in the affairs of Italy, which engrossed the attention of the rest of Europe.

Of Italy.

I Shall give here a short view of the different powers of Italy, of their interests and customs, from the mountains of Dauphiné to the kingdom of Naples.

The state of Savoy was not so extensive as at present; it neither had Montferrat nor Saluzzo; it wanted money and trade, nor was it looked upon as a barrier. Its princes were attached to the house of France, who lately had disposed of that government in their minority; and the passage of the Alps was open.

From Piedmont we descend into the dukedom of Milan, the most fertile part of citerior Italy. This was like Savoy, a principality of the empire, but a powerful principality, independent at that time of a weak empire. The dukedom of Milan, after having belonged to the family of the Viscontis, had submitted to the laws of the bastard of a peasant, a great man, and son of a great man. This peasant was Francis Sforza, who by his merit rose to be constable of Naples, and to have a considerable power in Italy. His son, the bastard, had been one of those *Condottieri**, who

* Chief of a disciplined gang of robbers.

used to let themselves out for hire to the pope, to the Venetians, and Neapolitans. He had taken Milan towards the middle of the fifteenth century, and afterwards made himself master of Genoa, which had formerly been so flourishing a republic, and which, after having waged war nine different times against Venice, was now perpetually changing masters. The Genoese had surrendered themselves to the French in the reign of Charles VI, and soon after they revolted. They submitted afterwards to the yoke of Charles VII in 1448, and shook that off also. They offered themselves to Lewis XI, who answered, that they might give themselves to the devil, but for his part he would have nothing to say to them. Then they were obliged, in 1464, to yield themselves up to this duke of Milan, Francis Sforza.

Galeazzo Sforza, this bastard's son, was murdered in the cathedral of Milan on St. Stephen's day. I mention this circumstance, which in other respects would be frivolous, but here is of great importance. The murderers prayed to St. Stephen and to St. Ambrose with a loud voice, to give them courage to assassinate their sovereign. Poisoning, assassination, and superstition, formed at that time the characteristic of the people of Italy. They knew how to take their revenge, but seldom how to fight. They had a great many murderers, and but few soldiers. The son of this unfortunate Galeazzo Maria, yet an infant, succeeded to the dukedom of Milan under the tutelage of his mother, and of the chancellor Simonetta. But his uncle, whom we call Lewis Sforza, or Lewis the Moor, drove away the mother,

mother, murdered the chancellor, and soon after poisoned his nephew.

It was this Lewis the Moor that negotiated with Charles the VIIIth, to make a descent into Italy.

Tuscany, a less fruitful country, was, in regard to the dukedom of Milan, the same as Attica compared to Bœotia. It was now a century since Florence had begun to signalize itself, as we have seen, by its commerce, and by the liberal arts. The Medicis were at the head of this polite nation. Never was there a family in the universe that attained to power by so just a title, that of virtue and beneficence. Cosmo de Medicis, who was born in 1389, lived as a private citizen of Florence, without seeking any great titles; but by commerce he acquired such wealth as might be compared to that of the greatest kings in his time. The use he made of his riches, was to relieve the poor, to create friends among the rich by lending them money, to embellish his country with fine structures, and to invite to Florence the learned Greeks who had been driven from Constantinople. During the space of thirty years his counsels directed the republic; while his only, and indeed most effectual, intrigues, were acts of benevolence. After his decease it appeared by his accounts that he had lent vast sums to his countrymen, whom
1464. he never asked to pay him again. He died lamented even by his enemies, and Florence with one consent adorned his tomb with the title of father of his country, a title which not one of the kings who have gone before us in review, could ever obtain.

His

His reputation gained his descendants the principal authority in Tuscany. His son governed the republic under the name of Gonfalonier; his two grandsons, Laurence and Julian, obtained the sovereignty, but were assassinated in a church by conspirators, at the very elevation of the host. Julian died of his wounds, but Laurence recovered.^{1478.} The Florentines resembled the Athenians very much in government, as well as genius. Sometimes it was an aristocracy, at other times a democracy, but nothing did they fear so much as tyranny.

Cosmo de Medicis might be compared to Pisistratus, who, notwithstanding his power, was ranked among the sages of Greece. The sons of this Cosmo met with the same fate as the children of Pisistratus, who were assassinated by Harmodius and Aristogiton. Laurence escaped from the murderers in the same manner as one of the sons of Pisistratus; and, like him also, he revenged his brother's death. But there is one circumstance in this tragical affair at Florence, which we do not find in that of Athens; namely, that the religious chiefs entered into this bloody conspiracy. Pope Sixtus IV laid the design, and the archbishop of Pisa fomented it.

The Florentines put the citizens concerned in it to death; and the archbishop himself was hung from the window of the public palace. Laurence had thus the satisfaction of seeing his cause revenged by his fellow citizens, whose affection he preserved the remainder of his life. He was surnamed the father of the muses, a title not equivalent to that of father of his country, but which
gives

gives to understand that he was such in effect. What an amazing spectacle, and how contrary to the manners of our times ! to see a citizen engaged in commerce, with one hand selling the commodities of the Levant, and with the other supporting the burden of the republic ; maintaining factors, and receiving ambassadors ; opposing the pope, making war and peace, giving counsel to princes, cultivating the belles lettres, exhibiting public spectacles to the people, and affording shelter to the learned Greeks of Constantinople. His son Peter had the chief authority in Florence at the time of the expedition of the French, but with less credit than his predecessors and his posterity.

Of the ecclesiastic state.

THE ecclesiastic state was not so extensive as at present ; much less what it should have been, had the court of Rome availed itself of the donations which Charlemaign is supposed to have made, or of those which were really made by the countess Matilda. The house of Gonzaga was in possession of Mantua, for which it paid homage to the empire. Several lords, under the name of vicars of the empire, or of the church, enjoyed very fine estates, which are now in the hands of the pope. Perugia belonged to the house of Bailloni ; the Bentivoglios had Bologna ; the Polentini Ravenna ; the Manfredi Faenza ; the Sforzas Pezaro ; the Rimarios possessed Imola and Forli ; the house of Este had long reigned in Ferrara, and the Pics at Mirandola. The Roman barons were likewise very powerful at Rome, so as to be called the pope's manacles. The Colonnas

lonnas and the Urfini, the Conti, and the Savelli, first barons and ancient proprietors of the most considerable demesnes, revaged the Roman state by their continual quarrels, like these great lords who waged war against each other in France, and in Germany, during the weakness of these governments. The people of Rome, though assiduous at processions, and continually importuning their popes for plenary indulgences, used to rise up in arms at their death, to plunder their palaces, and to be ready to throw their bodies into the Tiber. This is what actually happened at the death of Innocent VIII.

After him was chosen Roderigo Borgia, a Spaniard, who took the name of Alexander VI, a man whose memory had been rendered execrable by the cries of all Europe, and by the pens of all historians. The protestants who, in the following centuries, revolted against the church, have swelled the accusation; we shall see presently whether they have over-rated the measure of his iniquities. The circumstances of his exaltation to the pontificate clearly shew us the manner and spirit of his age, which bears no sort of resemblance to ours. The cardinals knew that he had five children living, by carnal conversation with Vanoza. They must have foreseen, that the riches, the honours, and the authority of the ecclesiastical state would center in this family; yet they chose him for their master. The heads of the factions in the conclave sold their own interests, together with those of Italy, for a trifle of money.

Of Venice.

THE dominions of Venice extended from the banks of the lake of Como on the continent, to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had stripped this republic of almost all the territories, which she had formerly wrested from the Christian emperors in Greece; yet she still kept possession of the great isle of Candia, and had appropriated to herself the isle of Cyprus, in 1437, by the donation of the last queen, daughter of Marco Cornaro, a Venetian nobleman. But the city of Venice alone was, by her industry, equivalent to Candia and to Cyprus, and to all her territories on the continent. The wealth of other nations was conveyed to this capital, by the several chanel of commerce: all the Italian princes were afraid of Venice, while she seemed to dread the irruption of the French.

Of all the states in Europe, that of Venice was the only regular and uniform government. It had but one radical defect, which was not indeed a defect in the eye of the senate: a counterpoise was wanting to the power of the Patricians, and encouragement to the Plebeians. Never could a private citizen raise himself by his merit in Venice, as in ancient Rome. The beauty of the English constitution, since the commons have had a share in the legislature, consists in this very counterpoise; the road being ever open to preferments, for those who deserve it.

Of Naples.

AS to the Neapolitans, a weak, restless nation, incapable of governing themselves, of chusing a king, or of bearing with the prince upon the throne, they were ready to be a prey to the first invader.

The old king Fernando was still upon the throne of Naples: he was a bastard of the house of Arragon; but illegitimacy at that time did not exclude from the crown. It was a bastard race that reigned in Castile; it was likewise the bastard race of don Pedro the Severe, that sat upon the throne of Portugal. Fernando, who had no other title to the crown of Naples, received the investiture from the pope, in prejudice to the heirs of the house of Anjou, who laid claim to that kingdom. But he was neither beloved by the pope his lord paramount, nor by his subjects. He died in 1494, leaving an unfortunate family behind him, whom Charles VIII deprived of a crown, which he could not keep; and whom he was sorry to have persecuted.



C H A P. LXXXVI.

Of the conquest of Naples. Of Zizim, brother of Bajazet II. Of pope Alexander VI, &c.

SO intoxicated were Charles VIII, his council, and his young courtiers, with the project of conquering the kingdom of Naples, th

at

he surrendered Franche-Comté and Artois, part of his wife's spoils, to Maximilian; and restored Cerdagne and Roussillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, to whom he likewise paid a debt of three hundred thousand crowns, on condition that he would not interrupt his expedition. He did not reflect that twelve villages contiguous to a state, are of more value than a kingdom four hundred leagues from home. He committed likewise another error, which was trusting the Catholic king.

1494.

At length Charles made a descent into Italy: his whole army consisted of sixteen hundred gendarmes, who, with their bowmen, composed a body of five thousand horse heavily armed, two hundred gentlemen of his life-guard, five hundred light horse, six thousand French infantry, and six thousand Swiss: so ill was he provided with money, that he was obliged to borrow some on the road, and to pledge the jewels lent him by the dukes of Savoy. Yet his march spread terror and submission through the country. The Italians, who had been acquainted only with small culverines of copper drawn by oxen, were surprized to see the heavy artillery drawn by horses. The Italian cavalry was composed of a set of bravoës, who let themselves out at a very extravagant price to the *Condottieri*, and these obliged the several princes to pay still at a much dearer rate for their service. These captains took particular names to frighten the populace. One was called *Cut-thigh*, another *Arm-strong*, another *Havock*, &c. They were greatly afraid of losing their men; for which reason they strove to bear the enemy down with their weight, but seldom

dom chose to come to blows. Those who lost the field, were vanquished. There was more blood spilt in private quarrels, and in conspiracies within the town walls, than in engagements in the field. Machiavel relates, that in a battle fought in those days, only one trooper lost his life, who was suffocated in the croud.

They were all now frightened at the thoughts of a war, in which there must be downright fighting; so that none of them durst lift up their heads. Pope Alexander VI, the Venetians, and Lewis the Moor, duke of Milan, who had invited the king into Italy, wanted to traverse his designs as soon as he arrived. Peter de Medicis, who had been obliged to sue for his protection, was, for this very reason, expelled the republic: he retired to Venice, from whence he durst not stir, notwithstanding the king's protection, being more afraid of the private revenge of his countrymen, than confident of being supported by the French.

Charles enters Florence in triumph; whence he proceeds to Sienna, which he frees from the yoke of the Tuscans, who soon after reduced it to its former subjection. From thence he marches on to Rome, where Alexander VI was negotiating in vain against him. Here he makes his public entrance like a conqueror. The pope flies to the castle of St. Angelo, but seeing the French artillery pointed against those weak walls, he submits.

It cost the pope little more than a cardinal's hat ^{1494.} to pacify the king. Brissonet, who, from a president of the accompts was become an archbishop, advised the king to this accommodation, which pro-

procured him the purple. Kings are often well served by cardinals, but very seldom by those who aspire to this dignity. The king's confessor took part in the intrigue. It was Charles's interest to depose Alexander; but he forgave him, and repented it afterwards. Never was there a pope more deserving of the indignation of a Christian king. The Venetians and he had addressed themselves to the Turkish sultan Bajazet II, son and successor of Mahomet II, to help them to drive Charles VIII out of Italy. Several writers affirm, that the pope had sent a nuncio, named Bozzo, to the port, and from thence it was concluded, that the union between the grand signor and the pontif, was to be purchased by one of those atrocious murders, of which they begin now to conceive some horror even in the seraglio.

By a chain of very extraordinary events, the pope had *Zizim*, or *Gem*, brother of Bajazet, in his power. The manner in which this son of Mahomet II fell into the hands of this pontif, is as follows.

Zizim, the darling of the Turks, had disputed the empire with Bajazet, whom they detested: but notwithstanding the affection of the people, he was defeated. In his distress he fled to the knights of Rhodes, now of Malta, to whom he had sent an ambassador. At first he was received as a prince to whom hospitality was due, and who might be of service to them; but soon after he was treated as a prisoner. Bajazet paid the knights forty thousand zequins a year, to hinder *Zizim* from returning to Turkey. The knights carried him to one of their commanderies in Poitou, called *le Bourneuf*. Charles VIII received at the same time

time an ambassador from Bajazet, and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII, the predecessor of Alexander, in regard to this illustrious captive. The sultan demanded him, and the pope wanted to have him as a pledge for the security of Italy against the Turks. Charles sent Zizim to the pope, who received him with all the splendor that the sovereign of Rome could affect, before the brother of the sovereign of Constantinople. They wanted to oblige him to kiss the pope's feet; but Bosso, an ocular witness, assures us, that the Turkish prince rejected this servile act with indignation. Paul Jovius says, that Alexander VI contracted for the murder of Zizim, by a treaty with the sultan. Charles's head was so full of his vast projects, that he thought himself sure of the conquest of Naples; and flattering himself with the hopes of becoming formidable also to Bajazet, he wanted to have this unfortunate brother again in his power. According to the said historian, he was given up by Alexander VI, after he had been poisoned: but it is uncertain, whether the poison was administered to him by a domestic of that pope, or by a private messenger from the grand signor. It was given out however, that Bajazet had promised the pontif three hundred thousand ducats for his brother's head.

Prince Demetrius Cantemir says, that according to the Turkish annals, Zizim's barber cut this prince's throat, and was rewarded for this villainous service, by being made grand vizir. But it is not probable that they should raise a barber to be minister and general of the empire.

Besides,

Besides, if Zizim had been murdered in this manner, king Charles VIII, who sent back his body to his brother, would have known what kind of death he died of; and cotemporary writers would also have mentioned it. Prince Cantemir and the accusers of Alexander VI may be alike mistaken: the hatred the public bore to this pontif was such, that they suspected him of every crime he was capable of committing.

After the pope had sworn not to disturb the king any more in his conquest, he quitted his confinement, and made his appearance on the Vatican throne. There, in a public consistory, the king paid homage of obedience, attended by John de Gannai, first president of the parliament of Paris, who ought not to have been present at such a ceremony. Charles kissed the feet of a person whom two days before he had arraigned as a criminal; and to complete the farce, he served Alexander's mass. Guicciardin, a cotemporary author of very great credit, assures us, that at church the king took his seat below the dean of the cardinals. We ought not therefore to be so greatly surprized, that cardinal de Bouillon, dean of the sacred college, adhering to those ancient usages, should write to Lewis XIV, *I am going to take the second place in the Christian world.*

Charlemaign had caused himself to be declared emperor of the west at Rome; and Charles VIII was in the same place declared emperor of the east, but in a very different manner. One of the Paleologi, nephew to him who lost the empire and his life, made an useless renunciation of what
was

was no longer to be recovered, in favour of Charles VIII, and of his successors.

After this ceremony Charles marched his army into the kingdom of Naples. Alfonso II, who had lately succeeded to that crown, hated by his subjects as much as his father, and terrified at the approach of the French, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice. He fled to Messina, and turned monk among the Olivetans. His son Fernando succeeded to the crown, but could not re-establish his affairs, which his father's abdication seemed to have rendered desperate. Finding himself quickly abandoned by the Neapolitans, he discharged them from their oath of allegiance; after which he retired to the little isle of Ischia, situated within a few miles of Naples.

Charles being now master of the kingdom, and ^{1494.} arbiter of Italy, entered Naples in triumph, without almost striking a blow. Here he prematurely took the titles of Augustus, and of emperor. But at this time almost all the powers of Europe were plotting to dispossess him of the crown of Naples. The pope, the Venetians, Lewis the Moor, the emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Arragon, and Isabella of Castile, entered into a league against him. Charles ought to have foreseen this confederacy, and to have been able to make head against it, before he undertook this expedition. He set out upon his return for France five months after leaving that kingdom: but such was either his infatuation, or his contempt for the Neapolitans, or rather his inability, that he left only four or five thousand French to preserve his conquest.

July
6,
1495.

Upon his return near Placentia, not far from the village of Fornova, rendered famous by the battle fought in that neighbourhood, he found the confederate army about thirty thousand strong, while the French were only eight thousand. If he had been defeated, he must have lost either his liberty or his life: if he proved victorious, he could gain only the advantage of making a retreat. Then he shewed what great feats he might have done, if his prudence had been equal to his courage. The Italians soon gave way, and yielded him a very cheap victory: for he did not lose above two hundred men; whereas the confederates lost four thousand. Such is generally the advantage of a small body of disciplined troops, commanded by their king, over a multitude of mercenaries. The Venetians reckoned it a victory to have plundered some of the king's baggage; and indeed his tent was carried in triumph through the city of Venice. By this victory Charles secured his retreat to France; but he left behind him the half of his little army in the neighbourhood of Novara, in the Milanese, where the duke of Orleans was soon surrounded.

The confederates had it still in their power to attack him with great advantage; but they would not venture. We cannot, said they, withstand *la furia Francese* *. The French fared exactly in Italy as the English had done in France; they were victorious with small armies, and yet they lost their conquests.

When the king arrived at Turin, he was surprized to see a chamberlain from pope Alexander

* *The French fury.*

VI, who commanded him to withdraw his troops from Milan and Naples, and to give an account of his conduct to the holy father, upon pain of excommunication. This bravado would have only excited laughter, if the pope's conduct in other respects had not been a very serious subject of complaint.

The king returned safe to France, and shewed himself as careless about preserving, as he had been expeditious in making, his conquests. Frederick, uncle of Fernando the dethroned king of Naples, laid claim to the crown after Fernando's death, and recovered in a single month that whole kingdom, with the help of Gonsalvo of Cordova, known by the name of the *Great Captain*; whom Ferdinand of Arragon, surnamed the Catholic, sent to his assistance.

The duke of Orleans, who, not long after, succeeded to the crown of France, thought himself very lucky in being suffered to march out of Novara. In fine, there soon remained not the least sign of this great torrent which had overwhelmed Italy: and Charles VIII, after a very fleeting glory, died without children, at the age of near eight and twenty, leaving to Lewis XII his first example to follow, and his mistakes to repair.

1498.

C H A P. LXXXVII.

Of Savonarola.

BEFORE we shew in what manner Lewis XII asserted his right to Italy, and what was the fate at length of this fine country, which had been rent by such a number of factions, and disputed by so many powers, and in what manner the popes formed the state which they are at present possessed of; it is proper we give attention to an extraordinary event, which at that time exercised the credulity of Europe, and displayed the power of fanaticism.

There was at Florence a Dominican friar, named Jerome Savonarola. This man was one of those preachers, whose talent of haranguing from the pulpit makes them believe that they are able to govern nations; one of those theologians, who, after writing comments on the Apocalypse, imagine they are endowed with the gift of prophecy. He directed, he preached, he heard confessions, he wrote; and in a free city, necessarily divided into factions, he would fain be the head of a party.

As soon as the principal citizens knew that Charles VIII was projecting an expedition into Italy, Savonarola foretold it, and the common people thought him inspired. He declaimed against pope Alexander VI; he encouraged likewise such of his countrymen as persecuted the Medicis, and had spilt the blood of the friends of this family. Never had man in Florence a greater influence over the vulgar. He was grown a kind of tribune of the people, by causing the artificers

tificers to be admitted into the magistracy. To be revenged of him, the pope and the Medici had recourse to the same arms as those made use of by Savonarola: they sent a Franciscan friar to preach against him. The order of St. Francis hated that of St. Dominic more than the Guelfs hated the Gibellines.

The Franciscan succeeded in making the Dominican odious; upon which the two orders went to open war. At length a Dominican offered to walk through a burning pile, in order to prove the sanctity of Savonarola. A Franciscan proposed likewise the same ordeal, to prove Savonarola an impostor. The people naturally greedy of such a spectacle, insisted on its being exhibited; and the magistrates were obliged to comply. Their minds were still prepossessed with the old fable of Aldobrandinus, surnamed *Petrus igneus*, who in the eleventh century had passed and repassed over burning coals; and the partisans of Savonarola made no doubt but God would do for a Jacobin what he had done for a Benedictin. The contrary faction expected as much in favour of the Cordelier.

The piles were set on fire, and the champions entered the lists in the presence of a vast multitude of people. But when they saw the flames, they trembled; and their common fear suggested to them a common evasion. The Dominican would not mount the stage, except he had the host in his hand: but the Cordelier pretended that this was a clause which had not been agreed upon. They both insisted obstinately on their point, and by thus helping each other to get out

of the scrape, the public were deprived of the shocking spectacle.

The mob were so incensed by the adherents of the Cordeliers, that they wanted to lay hold on Savonarola; which the magistrates perceiving, ordered this friar to withdraw: but though he had the pope, the faction of the Medicis, and the people against him, he refused to obey. He was taken, and put seven times to the torture. The extract of his deposition mentions that he acknowledged himself to be a false prophet, a cheat, who abused the secrets of auricular confession, as well as those that were revealed to him by his brethren. Might not he well own himself an impostor? Must we not look upon an intriguing prophet, as a downright cheat? Perhaps he was more of the fanatic. The human imagination is capable of joining these two extremes which seem so opposite. If justice had been done him, imprisonment and penance would have been sufficient: but the spirit of party was concerned in the affair. He and two other Dominicans were sentenced to the flames which they had so boldly defied: they were strangled
 1498. however before they were thrown into the fire. The friends of Savonarola did not fail to attribute miracles to him, the last shift of the adherents of an unhappy chief. Let us not forget to mention, that when he was condemned, Alexander VI sent him a plenary indulgence.

C H A P. LXXXVIII.

Of Picus of Mirandola.

AS the adventure of Savonarola shews us the superstition of those days, the theses of the young prince of Mirandola inform us of the state of learning. It was at Florence and at Rome, among the most ingenious people in the world, that these two different scenes were acted. Thence it is easy to form a judgment of the darkness which overspread other parts, and of the slow progress which the human mind makes towards improvement.

It is still a proof of the superiority of the Italians of that time in regard to literature, that John Francis Picus of Mirandola, a sovereign prince, was from his earliest years, a prodigy of study, and memory. Even in our days he would have been a prodigy of real erudition. So strong was his passion for the sciences, that at length he renounced his principality, and retired to Florence, where he died in 1494, the same day that Charles VIII made his entry into that city. It is said that at eighteen years of age, he understood four and twenty languages. Surely this is not according to the ordinary course of nature. There is no language whatever but requires about a year to understand it well. A youth that knows two and twenty, may be supposed to know them but very indifferently, or rather he knows only their elements, which is nothing at all.

It is still more extraordinary that this prince should have studied so many languages, and yet be

capable in his four and twentieth year to defend theses at Rome upon all sciences whatever. We find prefixed to his works fourteen hundred general conclusions, on which he offered to dispute. A little of the elements of geometry and the sphere, was in the course of that immense study all that may be said to have been worth his trouble. The rest serves only to shew the spirit of the times. It is Aquinas's sum of divinity, with the quintessence of the works of Albert the Great, that is a mixture of theology and peripatetic philosophy. There you see that an angel is infinite *secundum quid*; that the animals and plants spring *from corruption animated by a productive virtue*. The whole is in this taste. This is all they learnt in every university. Thousands of scholars filled their heads with these chimeras, and frequented till their fortieth year the schools where this gibberish was taught. Nor were they better instructed in other countries. Those who governed the world, were very excusable at that time for despising the sciences; and Picus of Mirandola may be said to have been very unhappy for having shortened his days in these serious reveries.

Since Dante and Petrarch, few were the writers of real genius, who improving their time in the perusal of the best Roman authors, escaped this dark maze of erudition. Their works were more in the taste of princes, statesmen, ladies, and noblemen, who read only for amusement; and surely these were far more proper for the prince of Mirandola, than the complements of Albertus Magnus.

But

But the passion for universal science prevailed : and this consisted in learning a few words by heart on every subject without any sort of meaning. It is difficult to conceive how the same men, who reason so justly and with such exactness in regard to the affairs of the world and their interests, could be satisfied in regard to almost every thing else, with gibberish and nonsense. It is because we want to appear learned, rather than to learn ; and when once the mind has been warped by erroneous principles in our younger days, we use no endeavours afterwards to set it right, on the contrary we strive to confirm it in error. Hence it is that so many persons of wit and genius, are led away by popular prejudices.

It is true that Picus of Mirandola wrote against judicial astrology : but we must not mistake ; it was against the astrology in vogue at that time. He admitted another sort, the ancient, the true astrology, which, as he said, was neglected.

In his first proposition, he says, *that magic, such as is practised at present, and as the church condemns, is not founded in truth, since it depends on the powers that are enemies to truth.* By these very words, contradictory as they are, we see that he admitted the art magic, as the work of Satan ; and this was the received opinion. Accordingly he asserts, that there is no one power in heaven or on earth but a magician can put in motion ; and he proves that words are effectual in incantations, because God made use of words in arranging the universe.

These propositions made a far greater noise, and met with a better reception, than the discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton, or the inquiries of Locke in our days. Of this whole body of doctrine pope Innocent VIII caused thirteen propositions to be censured. This censure resembled in some measure the decisions of those Indians, who condemned the opinion that the earth is supported by a dragon, because said they, it can have no other support than an elephant. Picus of Mirandola wrote an apology, wherein he complains of his censors. He says that one of them declaimed furiously against the *cabal* *. *But do you know*, said the young prince to him, *the meaning of the word cabal?* *A pretty question*, answered the theologian; *is it not well known, that he was a heretic, who wrote against Jesus Christ?*

After all, pope Alexander VI, who at least had the merit of despising these disputes, was obliged to send him an absolution. It is observable that he treated Picus of Mirandola and Savonarola both alike.



C H A P. LXXXIX.

Of pope Alexander, and king Lewis XII.

POPE Alexander VI had two great points in view, to recover the territories which were pretended to have been dismembered from the Roman see, and to procure a crown for his

* The secret science of the Hebrew Rabbis,

son Cæsar Borgia. The scandalous life of this pontif made no diminution of his authority; nor did the people of Rome ever rise up against him. The public accused him of an incestuous commerce with his own daughter Lucretia, whom he forced away from three husbands successively (the last of whom, Alfonso of Arragon, he caused to be assassinated) to marry her at length to the heir of the house of Este. These nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican with rejoicings the most infamous, and the most shocking, that human licentiousness ever invented. Fifty naked courtezans danced before this incestuous family, and prizes were given to those who displayed the most wanton movements. It was the general report, that this pope's sons, the duke of Gandia, and Cæsar Borgia then deacon, archbishop of Valentia in Spain and cardinal, had quarrelled for the favours of their sister Lucretia. The duke of Gandia was assassinated at Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was suspected of having had a hand in the murder. As the personal estates of the cardinals devolved to the pope after their decease, there was a strong presumption that the Borgias had hastened the death of many a cardinal, whose effects they wanted to inherit. And yet the people of Rome were submissive, and all the powers of Europe courted Alexander.

Lewis XII, king of France, and successor to Charles VIII, seemed more eager than any other prince to enter into a strict alliance with this pontif; for which he had more reasons than one. He wanted to be divorced from his wife, the daughter of Lewis XI, with whom he had consummated his marriage, and who had lived with

him two and twenty years without bearing any children. No human dispensation could authorize this divorce; and yet dislike and reasons of state rendered it necessary.

Anne of Britany, the widow of Charles VIII, preserved for Lewis XII the same inclination as she had felt for the duke of Orleans; and unless he had married her, he must have parted with Britany. It was an ancient but dangerous custom for princes to address themselves to Rome, either to obtain leave to marry their relations, or to be divorced from their wives. For as such marriages or divorces were frequently necessary to the state, the tranquillity of a nation must consequently have depended on the fancy or disposition of a pope, who might be an enemy to the kingdom.

The other reason which connected Lewis XII with Alexander VI, was his unhappy pretensions to several territories in Italy. He laid claim to the dutchy of Milan, because his grand-mother was sister of a Visconti, who formerly possessed this principality. In opposition to this claim the Italians might have pleaded prescription, and the investiture given by the emperor Maximilian to Lewis the Moor, whose niece this emperor had married.

The common feudal law being ever obscure and uncertain, there was no way of interpreting it but by the sword. This dutchy of Milan, this ancient kingdom of the Lombards, was a fief of the empire. There had been no determination as yet, whether it was a male or female fief, or whether the women could inherit. The grand-mother of Lewis XII, a daughter of Visconti

conti duke of Milan, had by her marriage settlement only the county of Asti. This marriage settlement was the source of the troubles of Italy, and of the misfortunes of Lewis XII and Francis I. Most of the states in Italy were fluctuating in this uncertainty, being neither able to assert their freedom, nor to determine who was to be their master.

The rights of Lewis XII to Naples were the same as those of Charles VIII.

Cæsar Borgia, the pope's bastard, was commissioned to carry the bull of divorce into France, and to treat with the king about all these projects. Borgia would not stir from Rome, till he had been assured of the duchy of Valentinois, of a company of a hundred gendarmes, and likewise of a pension of twenty thousand livres settled upon him by Lewis XII, with a promise of prevailing on the king of Navarre's sister to marry this archbishop. Thus Cæsar Borgia, from a deacon and an archbishop became a layman : and the pope his father granted a dispensation at the same time to his son and to the king of France ; to the one to quit the church, to the other to quit his wife. The agreement was soon made ; and Lewis XII, prepared for a new expedition into Italy.

He had the Venetians on his side, who were to share part of the spoils of the dukedom of Milan : they had already taken the country of Brescia and Bergamo ; and wanted at least the whole territory of Cremona, to which they had no more right than to the city of Constantinople.

The emperor Maximilian ought naturally to have defended his father-in-law and his vassal the duke

duke of Milan against France his natural enemy ; but he was not then in a capacity of defending any body. He was scarce able to maintain his ground against the Swifs, who had but just stript the house of Austria of what territories it had still left in their country. Maximilian therefore was obliged in this conjuncture to look on with a seeming indifference.

Lewis XII quietly put an end to some disputes between him and this emperor's son, Philip the handsome, father of Charles V, and sovereign of the Low Countries ; in consequence of which Philip paid homage in person to France for the counties of Flanders and Artois. The chancellor Guy of Rochefort received this homage at Arras : being seated and covered, he held the prince's hands between his own, while the prince standing uncovered and without sword or girdle, pronounced these words, *I yield homage to the king for my peerages of Flanders and Artois, &c.*

The king likewise renewed the treaties of Charles VIII with England, and having put his kingdom in a state of defence on all sides, at least for some time, he marched his army over the Alps. It is remarkable that entering upon this war instead of increasing he diminished the taxes, and that by this indulgence he first acquired the title of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE. But he sold several offices which are called royal, and especially those belonging to the finances. Would it not have been much better to have established an equal assessment of taxes, than to have introduced the shameful venality of public employments, into a country of which he wanted to be esteemed the father ? The practice of exposing public employments

ployments to sale, came originally from Italy. The places in the apostolic chamber used to be disposed of for money at Rome, and it was not till within our memory that the pope abolished this custom.

The army which Lewis XII sent beyond the Alps, was not much stronger than that with which Charles VIII had conquered the kingdom of Naples. But what must appear very extraordinary, is, that Lewis the Moor, who was no more than duke of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, and lord of Genoa, had as considerable a body of troops as those of the king of France.

Here again we have another instance of what ¹⁴⁹⁹the *Furia Franceſe* could do against Italian cunning. The king's forces in ten days made themselves masters of the states of Milan and of Genoa, while the Venetians took possession of the territory of Cremona.

After Lewis had taken these fair provinces by his generals, he made his public entry into Milan, where he received the deputies of all the states of Italy, as if he had been their lord paramount. But scarce was he returned to Lyons, when the French by their remissness, which is generally the consequence of their first impetuosity, lost the dukedom of Milan, in the same manner as they had lost Naples. In this short interval of success Lewis the Moor paid a ducat ¹⁵⁰⁰ for the head of every Frenchman that was brought him. The king of France resolving to make another push, sent Lewis de la Trimouille to repair the mistakes committed in Italy; and the French forced their way again into the duchy of Milan. The Swiss who ever since the reign
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of Charles VIII made use of their liberty to let themselves out for hire, were in great numbers both in the French and the Milanese armies. It is remarkable that the dukes of Milan were the first princes, who took Swiss troops into their pay. Maria Sforza set this example to all the sovereigns in Europe.

Some officers of this nation, which had hitherto resembled the ancient republic of Sparta in frugality, œconomy, equality of conditions, and the love of liberty and courage, sullied the glory of their country, by the love of money. The duke of Milan was at Novara, where he trusted the Swiss with his person preferably to the Italians. But far from meriting this confidence, they made their terms with the French. All that Lewis the Moor could obtain, was to be suffered to accompany them in a Swiss dress, and with an halbert in his hand. Thus he passed in disguise in the midst of the French army: when those who sold him, soon made him known. He was taken, and carried to Pierre-encise, and from thence to the same tower of Bourges where Lewis XII had been confined: he was removed afterwards to Loches, where he lived ten years longer, not in an iron cage, as is vulgarly believed, but waited upon with distinction, and permitted the last years of his life to walk abroad within five leagues of the castle.

Lewis XII being now master of the dutchy of Milan and of Genoa, wanted also to be possessed of the kingdom of Naples; but he had reason to be afraid of Ferdinand the Catholic, who had already driven the French out of that kingdom.

As he had therefore joined with the Venetians to conquer the dutchy of Milan, the spoils of which they divided betwixt them, so now he united with Ferdinand to subdue the kingdom of Naples. The catholic king chose rather to strip than to assist a prince of his own house; so that by a treaty concluded with France, he made a partition of this kingdom, where then reigned Frederic the last king of the bastard branch of Arragon. Ferdinand kept Apulia and Calabria for himself; the rest was designed for France. Pope Alexander VI, the ally of Lewis XII, enters into this confederacy against an innocent monarch his feudatory, and grants to the two kings the investiture which he had already given to the king of Naples. The catholic king dispatches this same general Consalvo of Cordova to Naples, under the pretence of defending, but in reality to oppress his relation. The French army partly marched by land and partly was transported by sea. As for the Neapolitans, they were not accustomed to fight for their kings.

The unfortunate monarch betrayed by his relation, pressed by the French forces, and bereft of all succour, chose rather to trust himself into the hands of Lewis XII, whom he looked upon as a generous prince, than to venture his person with the catholic king, from whom he had received such perfidious treatment. He applied therefore to the French for a passport to quit his kingdom, and arriving soon after on the coast of France with five gallies, he received a pension from the king of one hundred and twenty thousand livres present currency. Hard fate of a sovereign!

Thus

Thus we see that Lewis XII had at the same time a duke of Milan prisoner, and a king of Naples attending his court in the quality of a pensioner: moreover the republic of Genoa was reduced to a French province. The people were very little taxed, so that France was one of the most flourishing kingdoms in the world; it wanted only the improvements of commerce and of the polite arts, which seemed to be the peculiar glory of Italy.



C H A P. XC.

Wickedness of the family of Alexander VI, and of Cæsar Borgia: the affairs of Lewis XII, and Ferdinand the catholic, continued: death of pope Alexander VI.

ALEXANDER VI was then doing in little, what Lewis XII was executing in great: he was subduing the fiefs of Romagna by the arms of his son. Every thing seemed to contribute to the grandeur of this son, but he did not enjoy it long: contrary to his intention, he was toiling only to enlarge the territories of the church.

Every violence, or artifice, every exertion of courage, or villainy that can be mentioned, was practised by Cæsar Borgia. To subdue eight or ten small towns, and to get rid of a few lords, he used more art than the Alexanders, the Jenghiz-chans, the Tamerlanes, or the Mahomets ever had recourse to in conquering great part of the world.

Indul-

Indulgences were sold to raise an army; and cardinal Bembo assures us, that in the dominions of Venice alone, they disposed of to the value of near sixteen hundred marks of gold. They raised the tenth penny on all the revenues of the church, under the pretext of a war against the Turks; when they had only a little war at the gates of Rome.

Borgia begins with seizing on the towns belonging to the Colonnas and the Savellis in the neighbourhood of Rome: then partly by force and partly by cunning, he makes himself master of Forlì, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Piombino: and in these conquests, treachery, assassination, and poisoning are part of his arms. He demands in the pope's name, artillery and troops of the duke of Urbino: the duke supplies him; and he employs them against the duke himself to strip him of his dukedom. He inveigles the lord of the town of Camerino into a conference, and strangles him with his two sons. He prevails by means of the most solemn oaths on four lords, the duke of Gravina, Oliverotto, Pagolo, and Vitelli, to treat with him in the neighbourhood of Sinigaglia: the ambush was laid, and he cruelly massacres Vitelli and Oliverotto. Would one imagine that Vitelli, as he was expiring, should beg of the murderer to obtain of the pope, his father, an indulgence for him in the article of death? And yet this is mentioned by cotemporary writers. Nothing can be a stronger proof of human weakness, nor of the force of opinion. Had Cæsar Borgia died before Alexander VI, of the poison which they are said to have prepared for the cardinals, and to have drunk themselves,

selves, I should not be surprized if Borgia at his last gasp had asked a plenary indulgence of the pope his father.

At the same time Alexander VI laid hold of the friends of those unfortunate noblemen, and ordered them to be strangled in the castle of St. Angelo. But what is most lamentable, Lewis XII, the father of his people, favoured these barbarities; resigning the blood of these victims to the pope, in order to obtain his assistance in the conquest of Naples. From a motive of policy, or state-interest, he was guilty of injustice in favour of Alexander VI. But what kind of policy was it, what interest of state, to encourage the horrid cruelties of a man who soon after betrayed him!

It was the fortune of the French to conquer Naples, and their fate soon after to lose it. Ferdinand the catholic, who had deceived his relation the last king of Naples, was not more faithful to Lewis XII; for he quickly agreed with Alexander VI to deprive the king of France of his share of the spoils.

Consalvo of Cordova, who so well deserved the title of *great captain*, but not of a virtuous man, he who said that the cloth of honour ought to be home-spun, at first deceived and then defeated the French. The generals of this nation seem to have been more remarkable for that courage which honour inspires, than for abilities requisite in the conducting of great affairs. The French troops were commanded by a descendant of Clovis, the duke of Nemours, who challenged Consalvo to fight in single combat. Consalvo answered him by beating his army several times,
and

and especially at Cerignola in Apulia, where Nemours was slain with four thousand French*. It 1503. is said that only nine Spaniards were killed in this battle; an evident sign that Consalvo had chosen an advantageous post, that Nemours wanted military skill, and that his troops were disheartened. In vain did the famous chevalier Bayard withstand alone the attack of two hundred of the enemy on a narrow bridge; this was a glorious but useless effort.

In this war a new method was invented of destroying mankind. Peter of Navarre, a soldier of fortune, and a celebrated Spanish general, invented the springing of mines, the first effects of which were felt by the French.

And yet France was so powerful at that time, that Lewis XII was able to send three armies into the field, and a fleet to sea. Of these three armies one was designed for Naples, the other two for Roussillon and Fontarabia. But none of those armies made any progress; and that of Naples was soon entirely dispersed, so bad was the conduct of the French, compared to that of the *Great Captain*. In short, Lewis irretrievably lost his share of the kingdom of Naples.

Italy not long after was delivered of Alexander 1503. VI and his son. Historians unanimously mention, that this pope died of a poison which he had designed at a feast for several cardinals: an exit indeed becoming his life. But the fact is not probable. They pretend that upon a pressing occasion for money, he wanted the inheritance of those cardinals. But

* In him ended the branch of Armagnac, descended from Caribert, son of Clotharius II.

it is well attested that Cæsar Borgia carried away a hundred thousand ducats out of his father's treasure, after his decease : therefore he could not be in any real necessity. Besides, how could they have been so mistaken in that poisoned bottle of wine, which is said to have been the cause of the pope's death, and to have brought the son to the brink of his grave ? Persons so long experienced in villainy, seldom leave room for such a mistake. They mention no body that ever avowed the fact ; how came they then to the knowledge of it ? If the cause of the pope's death had been known at the time he died, it would have been known to the very persons whom he wanted to poison. If so, they would not have left such a crime unpunished ; they would not have suffered Borgia quietly to take possession of his father's treasure. The common people, who often hold their masters, and especially such masters, in abhorrence, having been kept in subjection under Alexander, would have broke through restraint at his death ; they would have interrupted the interment of this monster, and torn his abominable son to pieces. In fine, the journal of the house of Borgia takes notice that the pope, being seventy two years old, was attacked with an intermitting fever, which soon became continual, and proved mortal. Surely this is not the effect of poison. It is moreover said that the duke of Borgia caused himself to be sown up in the belly of a mule. I should be glad to know against what poison is a mule's belly an antidote ? And how could this Borgia just as he was a dying, go to the vatican for the hundred thousand

land ducats? Was he shut up in the mule's belly, when he carried off the treasure?

It is true there was a tumult in Rome after the pope's decease; and the Colonnas and the Urfinis returned to that capital with armed force: but this very tumult would have been a proper occasion for solemnly accusing the father and the son of so horrid a crime. Finally, pope Julius II, the mortal enemy of this family, and who had the duke a long time in his power, did not charge him with what he has been accused of by the public voice.

But on the other hand, why should cardinal Bembo, Guicciardin, Paul Jovius, Tomasi, and so many other cotemporaries, agree in this strange accusation? Whence are so many circumstances derived? How come they to name the kind of poison, which was called *Cantarella*? We may answer, that it is not difficult for accusers to invent, and that so horrid a charge should have been supported by probable arguments.

Alexander VI left behind him a memory far more odious than that of the Neros and of the Caligulas, because a greater degree of guilt arose from the sanctity of his character. And yet it is to him that Rome is indebted for her temporal grandeur; it is he that enabled his successors to hold the balance of Italy. His son lost the whole fruit of his iniquity, which was gathered by the church. Almost all the towns which he had seized upon, surrendered themselves to others, as soon as his father died; and pope Julius II afterwards obliged him to deliver up the rest: so that he was quickly stripped of all his fatal grandeur. The whole fell to the
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holy see, to whom his villainy proved more serviceable, than the abilities of a number of popes supported by the arms of religion.

According to Machiavel his measures were so well concerted, that he bid fair for attaining the sovereignty of Rome and of all the ecclesiastic state, after the death of his father; but little did he foresee that he himself should be at death's door at the time when Alexander was expiring. Friends, enemies, allies, relations, all the world in short, either abandoned or betrayed him, as he had betrayed all the world. The great captain, Consalvo of Cordova, to whom he surrendered himself, sent him prisoner into Spain. Lewis XII took from him his dutchy of Valentinois and his pension. At length he made his escape out of prison and took shelter in Navarre. Courage is not a virtue, but a happy quality, given in common to great men and villains: his did not fail him in this asylum. He was still true to his character; by his intrigues he obtained the command of the army of his brother-in-law the king of Navarre, whom he advised to crush the vassals of Navarre, as he himself had heretofore crushed the vassals of the empire and of the holy see. But he was killed sword in hand; and his death proved glorious: whereas in the course of this history we see lawful sovereigns and men of honour ending their days on a scaffold,

C H A P. XCI.

The political affairs of Lewis XII continued.

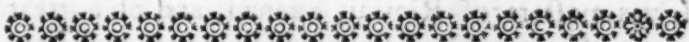
THE French might have recovered Naples, in the same manner as they recovered Milan; but through the ambition of the first minister of Lewis XII, this state was irrecoverably lost. Cardinal Chaumont d'Amboise, archbishop of Roan, a prelate so much extolled for having had only one benefice, but to whom the administration of a whole realm was surely as good as a second, wanted to have another of a more exalted nature. He aimed at being pope after the death of Alexander VI; and they would have been forced to elect him, had his policy been equal to his ambition. He had money at command; and the troops designed against the kingdom of Naples were at the gates of Rome: but the Italian cardinals persuaded him to remove this army to some distance, that his election might appear more free, and be consequently more valid. Accordingly he called off the troops; and cardinal Julian de la Rovere made them elect pope Pius¹⁵⁰³. III, who died at the end of twenty seven days: this cardinal Julian was afterwards chosen pope himself, under the name of Julius II. In the mean time the rainy season hindered the French from passing the Garigliano time enough, and favoured the designs of Consalvo of Cordova. Thus the cardinal d'Amboise, though esteemed a man of abilities, lost the triple crown himself, and was the cause of his master's losing a kingdom.

He has been reproached with a second fault of another kind, viz. the incomprehensible treaty of Blois, in which the king's council, with the stroke of a pen, consented to dismember and destroy the French monarchy. In virtue of this treaty the king was to give his only daughter, by Ann of Britany, to the grandson of the emperor, and of king Ferdinand of Arragon, both his enemies; to that very prince, who, under the name of Charles V, proved so formidable to France and to Europe. Who would have imagined that her dowry was to consist of the dutchies of Britany and Burgundy, and of Milan and Genoa, which were to be evacuated, and all right to those territories resigned? This is what Lewis XII was going to give away from France, in case he died without issue male. So extraordinary a treaty cannot be excused, but by saying that the king and cardinal d'Amboise had no intention to keep it; and, in short, that the cardinal had learnt of Ferdinand the art of dissimulation.

1506. The states general were assembled at Tours, where they protested against this fatal partition. Perhaps the king, who repented what he had done, had the artifice to make the whole kingdom apply to him, for a revocation of what he durst not revoke himself. Perhaps he was persuaded to yield to the remonstrances of the nation. Be that as it may, the heiress of Ann of Britany was hindered from marrying the heir of the house of Austria and of Spain, as Ann herself had been hindered from marrying the emperor Maximilian. She was married to the count of Angouleme, afterwards Francis I; by which means Britany, that had been twice united to France,
and

and twice had been very near falling under another power, was incorporated with the kingdom; and Burgundy was prevented from being dismembered.

Another fault laid to his charge was the confederacy, into which he entered with all his secret enemies, against the Venetians his allies. This indeed was a most extraordinary and unexampled event, that so many kings should conspire the ruin of a republic, which three hundred years before was from a town of fishermen grown the seat of opulence and commerce.



C H A P. XCII.

*Of the league of Cambray, and the consequence of it.
Of pope Julius II, &c.*

POPE Julius II, a native of Savona in the dominions of Genoa, with indignation beheld his country groaning under the yoke of France. The Genoese had about that time made an attempt to recover their antient liberty, for which they were punished by Lewis XII, with greater haughtiness than severity. He entered the city of Genoa with his drawn sword, and ordered all their charters and privileges to be burnt in his presence; then erecting a throne on a superb scaffold in the great market-place, he made the Genoese come to the foot of the scaffold, and hear their sentence upon their knees. But he condemned them only to a fine of one hundred thousand

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crowns,

crowns, and built a citadel, which he called the bridle of Genoa.

The pope, like the rest of his predecessors, would have been glad to drive all foreigners out of Italy, and of course to send the French back beyond the Alps; but he wanted first of all the Venetians to join him, and to restore several towns which were claimed by the holy see. The greatest part of these towns had been wrested from their lawful sovereigns by Cæsar Borgia, duke of Valentinois: and the Venetians, ever watchful over their own interests, had immediately after the death of Alexander VI made themselves masters of Rimini, Faenza, and of a great many estates in the districts of Bologna, and Ferrara, as also in the dutchy of Urbino. They wanted to preserve these acquisitions; which Julius II perceiving, made the French subservient to his designs against Venice, though a little before he had solicited the Venetians to arm against France. But he was not satisfied with having France on his side; he made all Europe join in the league.

There were very few sovereigns but had claims on this republic. The emperor Maximilian had unlimited pretensions as emperor; and moreover Verona, Vicenza, Padova, the marquissate of Treviso, and Friuli, were conveniently situated for him. Ferdinand, the catholic king of Arragon, might re-take several maritime towns in the kingdom of Naples, which he had pledged to the Venetians. This would have been an easy way of discharging his debts. The king of Hungary had pretensions to part of Dalmatia. The duke
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of Savoy might likewise put in his claim to the isle of Cyprus, because he was related to the house of Cyprus, which no longer existed. The Florentines, in quality of neighbours, had also some rights.

Almost all the potentates in Europe, even those ^{1528.} that were at enmity with each other, suspended their quarrels to unite together at Cambray against the republic of Venice. The Turk, her natural enemy, and who at that time was at peace with her, was the only power which did not accede to this treaty. In short, never did so many kings confederate against old Rome. Venice indeed was as rich as all these powers together; a circumstance in which she greatly confided, as well as in the disunion which soon broke out amongst so many allies. She had it in her power to appease the wrath of Julius II, the principal author of the league; but she disdained to sue for favour, and had the courage to wait the impending storm. Perhaps this is the only time that ever she behaved with temerity.

The pope began his declaration of war with excommunications, which are more despised by the Venetians than by other nations. Lewis XII sent an herald at arms to denounce war to the doge. He demanded back the territory of Cremona, which he himself had resigned to the Venetians, when they helped him to take the dukedom of Milan: he laid claim also to Brescia, Bergamo, and to other places.

Fortune favoured the French on this occasion with the same rapid success, which had hitherto attended them in the beginning of all their expeditions. Lewis XII having put himself at the

May 14, 1509. head of his forces, defeated the Venetian army at the famous battle of Agnadello *, near the river Adda. Each of the pretenders seized on his share of the spoil; and Julius II in particular took possession of all Romagna. Thus the popes who, it is said, were indebted to an emperor of France for their first possessions, owed the remainder to the arms of Lewis XII. They then recovered almost the whole extent of territory which they now possess.

In the mean time the emperor's troops advanced into the province of Friuli, where they took Trieste, which has ever since continued in possession of the house of Austria. The Spanish troops seized on what the Venetians held in Calabria. There was not one, even down to the duke of Ferrara, and to the marquis of Mantua, formerly a general in the Venetian service, but seized his prey. Venice, which before had been so bold and intrepid, was now as timid and dispirited: she abandoned the towns on the continent of her own accord: she released Padua and Verona from their oaths of allegiance, and being reduced to her lagunes, she implored the mercy of the emperor Maximilian, whose successes rendered him inflexible.

Then it was that pope Julius II having fulfilled his first design of aggrandizing Rome on the ruins of Venice, thought of executing the second; which was to drive the *Barbarians* out of Italy.

* A small town in the Milanese Proper, situate upon a canal between the rivers Adda and Serio, 23 miles from Milan.

Lewis XII returned to France, where, like Charles VIII, he grew as negligent in preserving, as he had been diligent in making, his conquests. The pope was reconciled to the Venetians, who being now recovered from their first panic, made a stand against the Imperial forces.

At length Julius entered into a league with this very republic, and against those same French, whom he had employed to distress her. He wanted to destroy all the foreigners in Italy, by making them cut one another's throats, to demolish the feeble remains of the German authority, and to form of Italy a puissant body, of which the pope was to be head. In this design he spared neither negotiations, money, nor labour. He headed the troops himself; he mounted the trenches; in fine, he dared to encounter death. The French historians censure his ambition and his obstinacy; but they should also have done justice to his courage and magnanimity.

Lewis XII was guilty of a fresh mistake, which forwarded pope Julius's scheme. The former was remarkable for his œconomy, which might be stiled a virtue in the ordinary administration of a peaceful state, but a vice in great undertakings.

Through want of a discipline the whole strength of the French armies at that time consisted in the gendarmery, who fought on foot as well as on horseback. They had not yet formed a good body of national infantry, though it was very practicable, as experience has since shewn; so that the kings of France were obliged to hire either German or Swiss foot.

The Swifs are well known to have contributed to the conquest of the dutchy of Milan : for they had sold their blood, and even their honour in delivering up Lewis the Moor. The cantons now demanded an augmentation of their pension, and Lewis refused it. The pope artfully laid hold of this conjuncture ; he cajoled them, and gave them money : he encouraged them by the titles he so lavishly bestowed on them, of defenders of the church : in fine, he caused their preachers to declaim from the pulpit against the French nation. The people all flocked to these military sermons, which flattered their passion : in short, it was preaching a crusade.

By an odd change of conjunctures, the French were now the allies of the German empire, with which they had so often been at enmity : more than this, they were become its vassals. Lewis XII had given for the investiture of Milan one hundred thousand crowns to the emperor Maximilian, who was neither a powerful ally, nor a faithful friend, and who, as emperor, liked neither the French nor the pope.

Ferdinand the Catholic, who had always deceived Lewis XII, deserted the league of Cambray, as soon as he had got what he pretended to in Calabria. He received the full and intire investiture of the kingdom of Naples of pope Julius II, who by this step secured him in his interest. Thus the pope by great policy had brought over to his side the Venetians, the Swifs, the forces of the kingdom of Naples, and even those of England ; while the French were obliged to withstand the joint efforts of all these powers.

Lewis

Lewis XII thus attacked by the pope, summoned an assembly of bishops at Tours, to know whether it was lawful for him to defend himself, and whether the pope's excommunications were valid. Posterity will be astonished that such questions were ever started: but there was a necessity for respecting the prejudices of the times. I cannot help taking notice of the first case of conscience proposed in this assembly. The president asked whether the pope had a right to make war, when neither religion nor the temporal dominions of the church were concerned; and he was answered in the negative. It is evident to me that they did not state the question right; and that they answered the very contrary of what they should have answered. For in matters of religion and ecclesiastic possessions, if we adhere to the gospel, a bishop, so far from going to war, ought only to pray and to suffer: but in matters of politics, a pope can and surely ought to assist his allies, and to defend Italy. Moreover the pope went to war in order to reunite Bologna and Ferrara, whose possessors were under the protection of France, to the patrimony of the church.

This French assembly made a worthier answer, by concluding to abide by the famous pragmatic sanction of Charles VII, to send no more money to Rome, and to tax the clergy of France in order to carry on the war against the pope, their Roman chief.

They began with fighting in the neighbourhood of Bologna and Ferrara. Julius II laid siege to Mirandola in person; and though his holiness was then seventy years old, yet he was

seen to mount the trenches with his helmet on, to visit the works, to press the engineers, and at length victoriously to enter the breach.

While the pope, worn out with old age, was fighting at the head of his troops, the king of France, still in the vigour of life, was assembling a council. He stirred up all the clergy of Christendom, and the pope all the soldiers. The council was appointed to meet at Pisa, where a few cardinals, enemies of the pope, made their appearance. But this royal council proved in the end an idle undertaking, whereas the papal war was very successful.

In vain some medals were struck at Paris, on which Lewis XII was represented with this device, *perdam Babylonis nomen; I will destroy even the name of Babylon*. It was a shame thus to menace, when there was so little power to execute.

The most signal proofs of courage, and even victories, serve only to raise the glory, but not to increase the power, of a nation, when there is a radical defect in the government of it. This is what happened to the French in Italy. The brave chevalier Bayard was admired for his valour, and generosity. Gaston de Foix, at the age of twenty-three, rendered his name immortal, by repulsing the Swiss army, by rapidly crossing four rivers, by driving the pope from Bologna, and by winning the famous battle of Ravenna, where he acquired so much glory, but lost his life. These were all signal exploits: but still the king was at too great a distance, his orders generally came too late, and were sometimes

con-

April
31,
1512.

contradictory. There was very little emulation among the officers, which was owing to his being so sparing when he ought to have been liberal of his money. There was no subordination among the troops; besides the infantry was composed of foreigners, chiefly Germans, who, as mercenaries, had very little attachment to the crown. The French gallantry, and that air of superiority assumed by victors, incensed the humbled and jealous Italians. But the fatal stroke was the emperor Maximilian's being prevailed on by the pope to issue out a proclamation, by which every German soldier in the French service was recalled, upon pain of being deemed a traitor to his country.

The Swiss immediately marched down from their mountains against those same French, who at the time of the league of Cambray had all the powers of Europe for their allies, but now had them all for their enemies. These mountaineers made it a point of honour to bring along with them the son of the duke of Milan, Lewis the Moor, and to expiate their treachery against the father by crowning the son.

The French under the command of the marshal de Trivulce, abandoned all the towns they had taken, from the middle of Romagna to the confines of Savoy. The famous Bayard made very gallant retreats, like a hero who is obliged to yield to superior force. There was only the space of three months between the victory of Ravenna, and the total expulsion of the French. Lewis XII had the mortification to see the young Maximilian Sforza, son of the duke who died prisoner in France, to see him, I

say, restored to the dukedom of Milan by the Swiss. Genoa, where he had displayed the pomp of an Asiatic monarch, twice expelled the French, and recovered her liberty.

The Swiss, after having served France for hire, were now become her enemies, and to the number of twenty thousand laid siege to Dijon. Even Paris itself was struck with terror. Lewis de la Trimouille, governor of Burgundy, could not send them home, without paying them twenty thousand crowns in ready money, and promising them in the king's name four hundred thousand more, for which he was obliged to give them seven hostages. The king would let them have no more than one hundred thousand crowns; and even this sum was more than he would have been obliged to pay for their auxiliary forces, which he had so parsimoniously refused. The Swiss, incensed at receiving only a fourth part of their money, condemned the seven hostages to death. The king was then obliged to promise not only the whole sum, but likewise one half more. Luckily the hostages made their escape, and saved the king his money, but not his glory.

C H A P. XCIII.

The affairs of Lewis XII continued; of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of Henry VIII, king of England.

THIS famous league, which had been at first concerted against the republic of Venice, was now, by a strange vicissitude, directed against France, so as to prove fatal in the end to Lewis XII. We find that there were chiefly two princes of greater abilities than himself; Ferdinand the Catholic, and the pope. Lewis was formidable but a very short time; whereas ever after he had reason to fear most of the powers of Europe.

While he was losing Milan and Genoa, together with his treasure and his troops, they were depriving him also of a bulwark against Spain. His ally and relation, John d'Albret, was suddenly stripped of his territories by Ferdinand the Catholic, who defended this violence by a pretence of religion: for he said that he had a bull of pope Julius II who excommunicated John d'Albret, as an adherent of the king of France, and of the council of Pisa. Navarre has been ever since incorporated with the Spanish monarchy.

The better to understand the policy of this Ferdinand the Catholic, famous for pretending to what he was ever violating, namely, sincerity and religion, we must see how artfully he made this conquest. He proposed to his son-in-law Henry VIII, king of England, to join their forces
in

in order to recover Guienne, the ancient patrimony of the English, who had been expelled from thence above one hundred years. The
 1512. young king of England, pleased with the project, sends a fleet to Biscay. Ferdinand makes use of the English army to conquer Navarre, and leaves the English to reimbarc for their own country, without making any attempt upon Guienne, the invasion of which was impracticable. Thus he deceived his son-in-law, after having tricked his relation the king of Naples, king Lewis XII, the Venetians, and the pope. In Spain he was called *the wise, the prudent*; in Italy, *the pious*; in France and in England *the perfidious*.

Lewis XII had put Guienne into a good posture of defence; but he was not so fortunate in Picardy. Henry VIII embraced this opportunity to make an irruption on this side into France, which was open to the English by the gates of Calais.

The young king, fired with ambition and courage, attacked France by himself, without waiting for succours from the emperor Maximilian, or from Ferdinand the Catholic, his allies. The old emperor, always enterprizing, and always poor, served in the king of England's army, and was not ashamed to receive the stipend of a hundred crowns a day. Henry VIII, with his English troops alone threatened to revive the fatal times of Poitiers and Agincourt. He gained a complete victory at the battle of Guinegasse, which is called the battle of the spurs.
 1513. He took Terouane, which is now destroyed; and he also made himself master of Tournay, a
 city

city time immemorial incorporated with France, and the cradle of the French monarchy.

Lewis XII had buried his wife Anne of Britany, and now he concluded a peace with Henry VIII, by marrying his sister Mary of England: but whereas kings as well as private persons receive a dower with their wives, Lewis paid one. It cost him a hundred thousand crowns to marry his conqueror's sister. Thus after having been obliged to submit to the extortions of the English and of the Swiss, after having been deceived by Ferdinand the Catholic, and driven from his Italian conquests by the steadiness of Julius II, he soon finished his career.

1515.

As he laid very few taxes, he was called the *father* of his people. But the heroes with whom France at that time abounded, would likewise have given him the title of their father, if by raising necessary taxes, he had preserved his territories in Italy, given a check to the Swiss, afforded effectual assistance to Navarre, and repulsed the English.

But though he was unfortunate abroad, he was far from being so at home. All that he can be reproached with, is the sale of employments, which in his reign did not extend to judicial offices. In a reign of seventeen years he raised by this means the sum of twelve hundred thousand livres in the diocese of Paris only. But the land-tax and the duties on merchandize were very moderate. It was ever his particular attention not to lay any heavy burden on the people. He did not think he was king of France, in the same manner as a private person is lord of his estate, merely to draw his subsistence from it.

There

There was no new impost in his time : and when Fromentau presented to that squanderer Henry III in 1580, a comparative account of what was exacted under this unhappy prince, and what was paid under Lewis XII ; at each article there appeared an immense sum for Henry III, and a very moderate one for Lewis, if it was an old duty ; but if it was an extraordinary tax, at the article Lewis XII, there was a cypher only : and unhappily this account of what was not paid under Lewis XII, and of what was exacted by Henry III, contains a large volume.

This king's revenue was only about thirteen millions ; but these thirteen millions were equivalent to near fifty of our present money. Provisions were at that time much cheaper, and the state was not in debt. It is not therefore to be wondered that this slender revenue, with prudent management, enabled him to live in splendor, and to make plenty flourish throughout his kingdom. He took care that justice should be administered in every province, expeditiously, impartially, and with as little expence as possible. The judges fees were forty times less than what they are at present. In the bailiwick of Paris there were only forty-nine serjeants *, and now there are above five hundred. It is true that this capital was not then the fifth part of what it is in our days. But the number of officers of justice has increased in a much greater proportion than the city of Paris ; and the evils inseparable from great towns, have been augmented more than the number of inhabitants.

* Officers appointed to arrest persons.

Lewis XII was the first king of France that secured the husbandman against the rapaciousness of the soldiers, and that inflicted capital punishments on the gendarmes who extorted any thing from the peasants. Five gendarmes were put to death; and the country people were ever afterwards unmolested. Though he was neither a great hero, nor a great politician, he acquired far more solid glory, that of being a good king, and his memory will be ever dear to posterity.



C H A P. XCIV.

Of England and its misfortunes after invading France. Of Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, &c.

IN the midst of the dissensions with which Italy was continually rent, pope Julius II, resolute in his design of clearing his country of foreigners, increased the temporal power of the papal see, far beyond any thing his predecessors had ever enjoyed. He dismembered Parma and Placentia from the dukedom of Milan, and joined them to the ecclesiastic state with the consent of the emperor himself: this action does honour to his memory, and with it he concluded his pontificate and his life. This territory is no longer in the pope's possession. At that time the holy see, as a temporal state, held the balance of power in Italy. 1513.

Venice though at war with Ferdinand the Catholic king of Naples, was still a respectable republic,

public, being able to withstand at the same time the attacks both of the Mahometans and of the Christians. Germany was at peace: England began again to be formidable; but we must inquire into the causes that weakened this kingdom, and the means by which it recovered its strength.

The distempered brain of Charles VI had been the ruin of France; and the weak head of Henry VI was the cause of the calamities of England.

1442. The relations of this prince began with quarrelling about the administration in his youth; just as the relations of Charles VI flung every thing into confusion that they might command in this prince's name. At Paris the duke of Burgundy causes the duke of Orleans to be assassinated; and at London, the dutchess of Gloucester, the king's aunt, is accused of having attempted to take away her nephew's life by witchcraft. A poor woman, who was reckoned a witch, and a foolish or knavish priest, who was counted a necromancer, were burnt alive for this pretended conspiracy. The dutchess was sentenced to do public penance, and to be imprisoned for life. The spirit of philosophy was yet at such a distance from this island, that it was the center of superstition and cruelty.

Most of the quarrels of princes end in marriages. Charles VII made a match between Henry 1444. VI and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René of Anjou, king of Naples, duke of Lorrain, and count of Maine, who with all these titles had no dominions, nor so much as a small dower to give his daughter. Very few princesses were ever more unfortunate in a father and in a husband. She was a woman of an enterprising spirit,

spirit, and of unshaken courage; to a degree that she might justly be stiled an heroine, if she had not begun by sullying her virtues with a heinous crime. She had every political ability, and every military virtue: but she sometimes gave into those cruelties, which ambition, war and factions inspire. Her temerity and the pusillanimity of her husband, were the original source of the public calamities.

She wanted to govern the kingdom, which she could not do without getting rid of the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, husband of that ^{1447.} very dutchess, who had been already sacrificed to her enemies, and was now confined in prison. The duke was arrested under pretence of a new conspiracy, and the next day was found dead in his bed. This proceeding rendered the queen's administration, and the king's name, odious. The English seldom hate their princes, without conspiring against them. There was at that time in England a descendant of Edward III, whose branch was one degree nearer to the original stock, than that which sat upon the throne. This was the duke of York. He wore in his arms a white rose, and Henry VI, of the branch of Lancaster, wore a red rose. This is the source of those famous names consecrated to civil war.

In England factions arise under the sanction of parliament; but when the contest is over, the victor often enslaves this assembly. The duke of York impeaches the duke of Suffolk, ^{1450.} prime minister and favourite of the queen, who by these two titles had done enough to incur the hatred of the nation. We have here a strange
example

example of the effect of popular aversion. The court to content the people, banishes the prime minister out of England, who in consequence of this sentence embarks for France. The captain of a man of war, stationed on the coast, falls in with the ship in which this minister sailed, and asks who is on board. The master answers, that he is carrying the duke of Suffolk to France. You shall not carry a man abroad, says the captain, that has been a traitor to his country; and immediately he orders his head to be struck off*. Thus the English behaved in full peace; but the civil war soon opened a more dreadful scene.

Henry VI was subject to a kind of weakness, which for years together rendered him unfit for all business. This same century beheld three sovereigns in Europe, whom a disorder of the brain involved in the heaviest calamities, namely the emperor Wenceslaus, Charles VI, king of France, and Henry VI, of England. One of those unfortunate years when the king was relapsed into his illness, the duke of York and his party gained a superiority in the council. The king, like a person recovered from a long lethargy, opened his eyes, and perceived he had lost his authority. Queen Margaret advised him to shew himself a king; but this he could not do without drawing the sword. The duke of York having been expelled the council, soon put himself at the head of an army. Henry was dragged to the battle

May

23,

1455.

* This is not altogether exact. The duke being taken, was brought into Dover road where his head was struck off on the side of a cock boat; and the head and body were left on Dover sands where they were found by a chaplain of his, and taken up and buried. See Rapin.

of

of St. Albans, where he was wounded and taken prisoner, but not yet dethroned. The duke of York conducted him in triumph to London; and suffering him to bear the title of king, he assumed¹⁴⁵⁵ to himself that of *protector*, a title already known to the English.

Henry VI often infirm in body, and always in mind, was little better than a prisoner with the pageantry of a king. The queen wanted to break his fetters in order to be at liberty herself; and indeed her courage was superior to her misfortunes. She raised an army according to the custom of those days, by the assistance of the lords of her party; and having persuaded her husband to retire out of London, she headed his forces. Thus the English, in a very short time, saw four French women who had the command of troops, the wife of the count of Montfort in Britany, the wife of king Edward II in England, the maid of Orleans in France, and Margaret of Anjou.

The queen drew up the army herself in bat-^{July 9,} talia, and fought close to her husband at the¹⁴⁶⁰ bloody battle of Northampton. The duke of York, her inveterate enemy, was not in the opposite army; but his eldest son, the earl of March, was there learning the rudiments of war under a person of the greatest renown. This was Guy, earl of Warwick, a man of singular abilities in the cabinet, and at the same time of the most intrepid courage in the field; a man, in short, fruitful in expedients, capable of attempting every thing, and formed as it were to dispose of crowns. The earl of Warwick's good genius prevailed over Margaret of Anjou. Her army was defeated;

feated; and she had the mortification to see the king her husband made prisoner in his tent: but while the unhappy prince was stretching out his arms to his wife, she was obliged to fly away with her son the prince of Wales. The victorious party re-conducted the king the second time to his capital, where he preserved the appearance of a king with the reality of a prisoner.

9 Oct.
1460.

A parliament was summoned; and now the duke of York, heretofore protector, aspired to a higher dignity. He claimed the crown, as the representative of Edward III, to the exclusion of Henry VI, born of a younger branch. This great question between the king and the pretender to the crown, was solemnly argued in the house of lords. Each side gave in his reasons in writing, as at common trials. The duke of York, notwithstanding his success in the field, could not obtain a compleat victory in parliament. Here it was decided that king Henry should continue to reign for life, and that the duke of York should succeed him to the exclusion of the prince of Wales. To this bill a clause was added, which became a fresh source of war and disturbance, that if the king broke through this law, the crown from that moment should be forfeited to the duke of York.

Margaret of Anjou, notwithstanding her defeat, her precipitate flight, her distance from her husband, and her having to contend with the victorious duke of York, with the city of London, and with the parliament, still did not lose her courage. She went into the principality of Wales, and the neighbouring counties, where by soliciting her
old

old friends and creating new ones, she raised at last another army. It is obvious that these were not regular troops, long trained to discipline, and paid by one commander. Each lord brought as many men into the field as he could tumultuously collect; ammunition and pay they procured by pillage. The consequence was, that they were obliged either to come quickly to an engagement, or to disperse. The queen at length, having drawn together a body of eighteen thousand men, met her enemy the duke of York, in the province of the same name, near the castle of Sandal. Fortune that day favoured her courage. The enemy's army was defeated; the duke of York fell in the engagement; and his second son, Rutland, was killed in the pursuit*. The father's head, with those of some of the general officers, was fixed upon the wall, where they long remained a monument of their defeat.

Margaret now victorious marches up to London, in order to set the king her husband at liberty. The earl of Warwick, the soul of the York party, had still an army, in which he dragged about the captive king. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of St. Albans, a place famous for more battles than one, and the queen had also the good fortune of obtaining the victory. Here she had the singular pleasure of seeing the terrible earl of Warwick flying before her, and of re-

* This was the battle of Wakefield, so called from that town, in whose neighbourhood it was fought, the duke of York having marched out of Sandal, and drawn up his army on Wakefield green.

† At Bernard's heath,

storing her husband on the field of battle to his liberty, and to his authority. Never had woman greater success nor greater glory; but the triumph was very short. The city of London still held out, for Warwick had taken care to secure it in his interest. The queen therefore could neither gain admittance, nor pretend to force the city with so weak an army. The earl of March, the duke of York's eldest son, was in the town*, breathing fury and revenge. The queen after her victories was obliged to retire to the north of England, where she endeavoured to strengthen her party, which was now more considerable by the royal presence.

March

2,

1460-

2.

In the mean time, Warwick finding himself master in London, assembles the people in a field not far from the city gates †, and presenting the duke of York's son to them, *which*, says he, *will you have for your king, either this young prince, or Henry of Lancaster?* The people answered, *York*. The voice of the multitude supplied the place of a parliament, for there was none sitting at that time. Warwick assembled a few lords and bishops, who voted that Henry VI of Lancaster had broke through the act of parliament, because his wife had taken up arms in defence of her husband. The young duke of York was therefore proclaimed king in London by the name of Edward IV, while his father's head was still upon York walls, for having been guilty of high trea-

* This is a mistake; the earl of March after defeating the earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's cross in Herefordshire, had joined the earl of Warwick at Chipping-Norton, and was approaching towards London: and the queen receiving this intelligence, retired to the North. See Rapin.

† Near Clerkenwell.

son. Thus was Henry VI deprived of his crown, after he had been proclaimed king of France and England in his cradle, and after he had reigned eight and thirty years, free from every reproach but that of imbecillity.

As soon as the queen received this news, she assembled an army of sixty thousand men in the north of England. This was a prodigious effort; but she exposed this time neither her husband's person nor her own, nor her son. Warwick led his young king, at the head of forty thousand men, against the queen's army; and came up with them at Towton, near the banks of the river Aire, on the borders of Yorkshire. ^{March} Here was fought the bloodiest battle that ever depopulated England; for cotemporary writers make ^{1461.} the number of the slain to amount to six and thirty thousand. Warwick gained a complete victory, by which the young king was settled on the throne. Margaret of Anjou in this distressed situation fled into Scotland with her husband and her son. After the battle king Edward ordered his father's head to be taken down from the walls of York, and the heads of the principal officers among the enemy to be put in his stead. In the course of these horrid wars, each party in their turn put their prisoners to death by the hands of the common executioner. England was thus a bloody theatre, where they were continually erecting scaffolds on the very field of battle.

C H A P. XCV.

Of Edward IV. Of Margaret of Anjou, and the death of Henry VI.

THE intrepidity of Margaret still continued superior to her misfortunes. Finding but very little encouragement in Scotland, she crosses over into France through the midst of the enemy's fleet. She applies for succours to Lewis XI, who was then in the beginning of his reign : and though through bad policy he refuses her any aid, Margaret is not disheartened. She borrows money and ships ; and after having obtained a supply of five hundred men she sets sail from France. In her passage the queen is separated by a storm from her little fleet : however she lands in England, where she assembles some forces, and determining again to try the fortune of war, fearless she exposes her own person in company with her husband and her son. Another battle is fought in the neighbourhood of Hexham *, where she is likewise defeated. After this overthrow she is left destitute of all relief. Her husband flies on one side ; herself and her son on the other ; without domestics or attendants, and exposed to all the accidents and injuries of life. In the pursuit Henry fell into the enemy's hands, who brought him back with ignominy to London, where they confined him to the Tower. Margaret had the good fortune to escape with her son into France, to her father René of Anjou, who could afford her nothing but compassion.

April
1463.

* On Lyvel's plain near the water of Dowil in Northumberland.

The

The young king Edward IV having been thus delivered of all his enemies, and made master of Henry's person, by the assistance of Warwick, was in peaceable possession of the throne. But as soon as he was at his ease, he grew ungrateful. The earl of Warwick, who had been a father to this prince, was negotiating a match between him and Bona of Savoy, sister to Lewis XIth's queen. When the marriage was just upon the point of being concluded, Edward happening to see Elizabeth Woodville, widow of sir John Grey, falls in love with her, marries her in private, and at length declares her his queen, without acquainting Warwick. After giving him this offence he slights him, removes him from his council, and makes him his irreconcilable enemy. Warwick's policy was equal to his courage, and he soon exerted both in revenging himself of Edward. He seduced the duke of Clarence, the king's brother; he set England again in flames; and it was no longer the *red rose* against the *white*, but a civil war betwixt the king and his provoked subject. Battles, truces, negotiations, treasons, succeeded each other with the greatest rapidity. At length Warwick having driven Edward out of England, went to the Tower to release that very king Henry VI, whom he had deposed; and placed him again upon the throne. This earl was called the *King maker*. Oct. Parliaments in those days did little more than ^{25,} echo the will of the strongest: Warwick caused ^{1470.} one to be called, which immediately restored Nov. Henry to all his rights, and declared that same ^{26,} Edward IV, on whom they had a few years before ^{1470.} conferred the crown, a traitor and usurper.

We are not yet come to the catastrophe of this long and bloody tragedy. Edward IV had taken shelter in Holland, but had still a powerful party in England, whither he returned after seven months banishment. His partisans opened the gates of London to him; and Henry, the sport of fortune, just after his restoration was sent again to the Tower. His wife, Margaret of Anjou, ever ready to succour him, and fruitful in expedients, was at that same time upon her return to England with her son the prince of Wales, and at her landing received the news of this disaster. Warwick, who had been so long her persecutor, was now become her defender, and marched against Edward. Thus there were still some hopes left for this unfortunate queen: but scarce had she heard of her husband's second imprisonment, when a courier comes to acquaint her, as she was yet upon the coast, that Edward had gained a complete victory at Barnet over the earl of Warwick, who was slain in the engagement.

Easter
Sund.
April
14,
1471.

It is amazing, that after such a multitude of disasters a woman should still have ventured to try her fortune. But her undaunted courage always procured her friends. Whosoever had a party in England, was sure, at the expiration of some time, of finding his partisans strengthened by the aversion of the people from the court and ministry. This in some measure was as good as an army to Margaret of Anjou, after such a number of revolutions and defeats. There was scarce a county in England where she had not fought; but the banks of the Severn and Tewksbury park were the last field of battle. She com-
manded

manded the troops in person, and led the prince of Wales through the ranks ; the battle was obstinate, but at length victory declared in favour of Edward. The queen missing her son in the confusion of the flight, and being able to get no tidings of him, fainted away. In this condition she was found in a chariot ; and upon coming to herself, she saw her son a prisoner, and her conqueror Edward before her. The mother and the son were parted : the queen was conducted to London, and sent to the very Tower where the king her husband was confined. While Margaret was disposed of in this manner, Edward turning himself to the prince of Wales, *How came you to be so rash, said he, as to put foot into my dominions ? I am come into my father's territories,* replied the prince, *to revenge his cause, and to rescue my inheritance out of your hands.* Edward was so provoked at this reply, that he struck him with his gauntlet : and it is mentioned by cotemporary historians, that king Edward's own brother, the duke of Clarence, then restored to favour, and the duke of Gloucester, together with some lords, fell like so many wild beasts on the prince of Wales, and inhumanly butchered him. When the first persons of the realm could commit such barbarities, what notion must we form of the common people ? They pardoned no prisoner whatever ; and now they resolved to put Henry VI to death. The respect which in those barbarous times they had entertained above forty years for the personal virtues of this monarch, had hitherto restrained the hands of those assassins ; but after they had thus murdered the prince of Wales, they began to have

May
21,
1471.

less regard for the king. That very duke of Gloucester, who had embued his hands in the blood of the son, went himself to the Tower to murder the father. They spared Margaret of Anjou, because they expected the French would ransom her. And so it fell out four years afterwards, when Edward, having established peace at home, went over to Calais to declare war against France: Lewis XI concluded a shameful treaty, by which he prevailed upon him for a sum of money to return to England, and by the same agreement he gave him fifty thousand crowns for the heroine's ransom. This was a great sum to the English, who were impoverished by the wars of France, and by their own domestic dissensions. Margaret, after having defended the rights of her husband and of her son in twelve pitched battles, died in 1482; the most unfortunate, and, were it not for the murder of her husband's uncle, the most venerable queen, wife, and mother in Europe.



C H A P. XCVI.

Continuation of the troubles of England under Edward IV, under the tyrant Richard III, and to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

EDWARD IV was now peaceably seated on the throne; the triumph of the white rose was complete, and its power cemented by the blood of almost all the princes of the red rose. Upon considering the conduct of Edward
IV,

IV, there is no body but would imagine him to have been a barbarous prince, whose thoughts were intirely taken up with glutting his revenge: yet he was a man of pleasure, as much intangled in the intrigues of women as in those of state. He did not want the regal dignity to render himself agreeable. Nature had formed him the handsomest as well as the most amorous man of his time; but by a surprizing contrast had infused into so tender a breast such a disposition to cruelty as fills us with horror. He ordered his brother Clarence to be tried for his life on the most frivolous pretences; and the only grace he shewed him was the permitting him to chuse the manner of his death. Clarence desired to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine: a very odd and unaccountable fancy * !

March
11,
1478.

The secret of pleasing his subjects, was to make war against France. We have already seen, under the article of Lewis XI, how Edward IV crossed the sea in 1474, and by how shameful a policy Lewis XI gave a sum of money to this king, at that time less powerful and less settled on the throne than himself, to persuade him to return to England. To purchase peace of an enemy, is enabling him to wage war. Edward therefore proposed to his parliament in 1483, to invade France again. Never was there a proposal accepted of with more general satisfaction; but just as he was preparing for this expedition, he died at the age of forty two.

April
9,
1483.

* This is a vulgar error. It was not at his own desire; but the court being afraid of the popular resentment by a public execution, he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmsey. See Hall and Hollingshead.

As he was a prince of a very robust constitution, his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester, was suspected of having hastened his days by poison. This was not judging rashly of the duke of Gloucester, a monster born to perpetrate even the most horrid crimes in cool blood.

Edward IV left two sons behind him, the eldest of whom, named Edward V, was at that time thirteen years of age. Gloucester formed the design of taking these children out of the hands of the queen their mother, and of causing them to be murdered, in order to make way for himself to the throne. He employed every kind of artifice to get the princes into his power; which as soon as he had effected, he ordered them to be sent to the Tower, pretending it was for their greater safety. But when this double assassination was to be put in execution, he met with an obstacle in his way: his emissaries having sounded lord Hastings, a man of a sour disposition, found him too much attached to the young king ever to be accessory to his death. Gloucester finding his secret in such dangerous hands, did not hesitate a moment about what he had to do: the council of state was met in the Tower, and Hastings was at the board. The duke enters with his armed men, and going up to lord Hastings, *I arrest thee*, says he, *for high treason. Who! me, my lord?* answered the accused. *Yes, thee, traitor*, says Gloucester, and at that very instant he ordered his head to be cut off in the presence of the council*.

June

13,

1483.

* He would scarce give him time to make a short confession to the next priest that came, swearing *he would not dine till his head was struck off*. Accordingly, he was beheaded upon a log, which was found on the green before the Tower chapel. Rapin.

Having

Having thus got rid of a person who knew his secret, and despising those forms of law, by which the most flagitious crimes were justified in England, he hires an infamous set of wretches, the very scum of the people, who assemble in Guildhall, and tumultuously declare that they will have Richard duke of Gloucester for their king. The next day, the lord mayor of London, followed by this rabble, goes and offers him the crown: Richard accepts of it, and is crowned without calling a parliament, or without the least pretext for this irregular proceeding. He only caused it to be rumoured that king Edward his brother was born in adultery, shewing that he was not ashamed to dishonour his mother. And indeed it was very difficult to imagine that Edward IV and the duke of Gloucester should have been born of the same father: the former was a very handsome man; the latter was distorted in every part of his body, and the deformity of his countenance was as hideous as that of his mind.

Thus he founded his right entirely on his mother's shame; pretending that he alone was legitimate, and his nephews the sons of a bastard. Scarce was he crowned when one Tyrrel strangled the young king and his brother in the Tower. ^{July} The nation were apprized of this horrid murder, ^{6,} and only murmured in private, so greatly were ^{1483.} they changed with the times. The duke of Gloucester, under the title of Richard III, enjoyed two years and an half the fruit of the greatest villainy that England had ever yet beheld, notwithstanding it had been so much accustomed to scenes of horror and iniquity.

Jan.

23,

1484.

During this short enjoyment of the crown he summoned a parliament, in which he ventured to have his right examined. There are times in which the people behave cowardly, in proportion to the tyranny of their masters. This parliament declared that the mother of Richard III had been guilty of adultery: that neither the late king Edward nor his other brothers were lawful issue: that the only legitimate son was Richard, and consequently that the crown was his right, exclusive of the two young princes murdered in the Tower, but concerning whose death they made not the least mention. The parliaments of England may have committed greater cruelties, but never were guilty of so infamous an act. Intire ages of virtue can hardly wipe off the stain of so base a condescension.

At length, at the end of two years and an half, an avenger ventured to appear on the stage. After the murder of so many princes of the blood royal, there was still left a sprig of the red rose, concealed in Britany, whose name was Henry earl of Richmond. He was not a descendant of Henry VI; but like him, he derived his original from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of the great Edward III: yet as this descent was by the female line, and by a very ambiguous marriage of this very John of Gaunt, Richmond's right to the crown would have been extremely precarious, if it had not been strengthened by the horror which the nation had conceived against the crimes of Richard III. Henry was as yet very young, when he formed the design of revenging the blood of so many princes of the house of Lancaster, of punishing Richard III,
and

and of conquering England. His first attempt was unsuccessful, and after his party had been defeated he was obliged to return for shelter to Britany. Richard entered into a private negotiation with the minister of Francis II, duke of Britany, father of princess Anne, who married Charles VIII, and afterwards Lewis XII. The duke himself was not capable of so base an action, but his minister Landois was; and, in fact, he promised to deliver up the earl of Richmond to the tyrant. The young prince fled in disguise from Britany to the territory of Anjou, where he arrived but just an hour before the officers that were in pursuit of him.

It was the interest of Charles VIII, at that time king of France, to protect the earl of Richmond: the great grandson of Charles VII would have been greatly deficient in politics, if having it in his power to prejudice the English, he had omitted doing it. And yet Charles lent him no more than two thousand men. This was indeed enough, supposing Richmond's party considerable: but it soon increased; and Richard himself when he heard that his rival had landed with so small a ^{Aug.} force, judged that he would soon find an army.^{6,} The whole principality of Wales, where this young ^{1185.} prince was born, armed in his favour. At length Richard and Richmond came to an engagement at Bosworth field in the neighbourhood of Leicester*. Richard wore the crown on his head, intending to remind the soldiers that they were fighting for their king against a rebel. But lord Stanley, one of his generals, who had long with horror

* Voltaire by mistake says *Litchfield*.

beheld this bloody usurpation, betrayed his unworthy master, and went over with the body of troops under his command to the earl of Richmond. Richard had courage, which was his only good quality. When he saw the battle grown desperate, he furiously rushed into the midst of his enemies, and there received a more glorious death than he deserved. His body being found among the slain, was carried all naked and bloody to the town of Leicester on horseback, his head hanging on one side, and his feet on the other. There he was two days exposed to the view of the populace, who reflecting on his horrid crimes had no sort of pity for him. Stanley took the crown off his head, after he had been killed, and carried it to Henry.

The victors sang *Te Deum* on the field of battle, and after this prayer the whole army with one common voice cried out, *Long live king Henry*. This day put an end to the distractions with which the white and red roses had ravaged England. The throne after such a number of bloody revolutions was at length settled on a solid basis. The misfortunes which had so long persecuted the family of Edward III, were now at an end; for Henry VII, by marrying a daughter of Edward IV, reunited the rights of the houses of York and Lancaster in his own person. He understood how to govern, as well as to conquer. His reign, which lasted four and twenty years with very little disturbance, softened, in some measure, the manners of the nation. The parliaments, which he called and directed, made very prudent laws; the administration of justice

was

was perfectly restored ; and commerce, which began to flourish under the great Edward III, and had been ruined during the civil wars, was seen once more to raise its head. England indeed wanted it : we have an instance of its poverty in the extreme difficulty which Henry VII had to raise, by way of loan, two thousand pounds sterling, upon the city of London. His inclination joined to his necessities rendered him covetous. If he had been only an œconomist, he would have been considered as a wise prince ; but by a sordid parsimony and fiscal acquisitions he stained his glory. He kept a private register of what the confiscations were worth to him ; a meanness to which no great prince ever descended. At his decease they found in his coffers two millions sterling : this was an immense sum ; but it would have done much greater service by circulation, than by lying dead in the treasury. However in a nation more inclined to raise disturbances than to grant money to their sovereign, there was a necessity for the king's having a hoard.

His reign was a little disturbed by two surprising adventures. A journeyman baker *, who pretended to be nephew to Edward IV, disputed the crown with him. Having been taught by a June priest to play his part, he was crowned at Dub-^{16,}lin, and going over to England ventured to give^{1487.} battle to the king in the neighbourhood of Nottingham †. He was taken prisoner ; but Henry

* Lambert Simnel.

† This was called the battle of *Stoke*, from the village where it was fought.

thought

thought he should sufficiently humble the faction by placing their king in his kitchen, where he served a long time as a scullion.

Enterprizes of an arduous nature, though unsuccessful, oftentimes excite a spirit of imitation: people are encouraged by a striking example, and hope for better success. This is instanced by the six false Demetrius's, successively seen in Muscovy, and by many other impostors. The journeyman baker was followed by the son of a Jew broker at Antwerp, who acted his part much better.

This young Jew, whose name was Perkin, pretended to be son of Edward IV. The king of France, desirous of fomenting the seeds of division in England, acknowledged and encouraged him in the beginning, and even entertained him at court; but afterwards chusing to keep fair with Henry VII, he abandoned this impostor to his fate.

1493. The old dutchess dowager of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV, and widow of Charles the bold, who set this spring a going, acknowledged the young Jew as her nephew. He carried the farce on much longer than the young journeyman baker. His shape, his air, his valour, seemed to render him worthy of the rank he usurped. He married a princess of the house of York, who loved him even after the cheat was discovered. He kept the king's forces at bay five
1498. years; he even put Scotland into motion, and more than once retrieved his losses. At length he was abandoned and delivered up to the king, who only condemned him to imprisonment; but upon attempting to make his escape, his head paid for his temerity. Then it was that the spirit of
faction

faction subsided, and that the English, no longer troublesome to their king, began to be formidable to their neighbours; especially when Henry VIII ascending the throne, was by the extreme œconomy of his father, become possessor of an ample treasure, and by a prudent government had established his authority over a nation, who, though of a warlike disposition, were yet as submissive to him as it is possible for Englishmen to be.



C H A P. XCVII.

General idea of the sixteenth century.

THE beginning of the sixteenth century, which we have already entered upon, exhibits the noblest objects to our view that the theatre of the world ever afforded. If we cast an eye towards those who at that time reigned in Europe, their glory or their conduct, or the great revolutions of which they were the cause, immortalize their names. At Constantinople it is a Selim, who conquers Syria and Egypt, which the Mahometan Mamalukes had possessed since the thirteenth century. After him it is his son, the great Solyman, who the first of the Turkish emperors marches up to Vienna; who is crowned king of Persia at Bagdat, which submits to his arms; and who makes Europe and Asia tremble.

In the North at the same time we behold Gustavus Vasa shaking off a foreign yoke in Sweden,

and chosen king of that nation whose freedom he asserted.

In Muscovy, John Basilowitz rescues his country from the Tartars to whom it was tributary : it is true this prince was a barbarian, and the chief of a nation of barbarians ; yet the deliverer of his country deserves a rank among great princes.

In Spain, in Germany, and in Italy, we see Charles the Vth, the sovereign of all those countries under different titles ; we see him bearing the burden of Europe ; ever fighting or negotiating ; successful a long time in politics and in war ; the only powerful emperor since Charlemagn ; and the first king of all Spain since the conquest of the Moors ; stemming the torrent of the Ottoman arms ; making kings ; and at length laying down the crowns with which his head was loaded, to end his days in retirement, after having so long disturbed all Europe.

His rival in glory and politics Francis I, king of France, less potent, and less fortunate, but more brave and more amiable, divides between Charles Vth and himself the affection and esteem of nations. In the midst of his defeats he is crowned with glory, and renders his kingdom flourishing notwithstanding his misfortunes ; he transplants the polite arts into France, which in Italy were arrived at their highest degree of perfection.

Henry VIII, king of England, a prince too cruel and too capricious to be ranked among heroes, has yet his place among these kings, both because of the revolution which he made in the minds of the people, and of the balance which England began in his reign to hold among the powers of Europe. He took for his device a

warrior stretching a bow, with these words : *He whom I assist, is victorious* ; a device which has been sometimes verified by his nation.

Pope Leo X is celebrated for his wit, for his amiable behaviour, for the eminent artists who immortalize his age, and for the famous revolution which in his pontificate divided the church.

At the beginning of this same century, religion and the pretence of reforming the established law, those two great instruments of ambition, produce the same effect on the coast of Africa as in Germany ; the same among Mahometans as among Christians. A new government and a new race of kings are established in the vast empire of Morocco and Fez, which extends as far as the deserts of Nigritia. Thus Asia, Africa, and Europe, experience at the same time a revolution in religion. The Persians separate themselves for ever from the Turks, and though acknowledging the same God and the same prophet, they consummate the schism of Omar and Ali. Soon after, the Christians are divided also among themselves, and the Roman pontif is divested of his jurisdiction over one half of Europe.

Thus the ancient world receives a violent shock, while the new world is discovered and conquered for Charles V. At the same time a trade is opened between the East-Indies and Europe by the ships and arms of the Portuguese.

On one side, Cortez subdues the powerful empire of Mexico, while Pizaro makes the conquest of Peru with a smaller number of troops than is now required to lay siege to a little town. On the other side Albuquerque in the East-Indies establishes the dominion and trade of Portugal with

with almost as small a number of forces as the Spaniards, notwithstanding the opposition of the Indian kings, and in spite of the efforts of the Mahometans who were in possession of that trade.

Nature then produced extraordinary men in almost every kind, especially in Italy.

But what is still more surprizing in this illustrious age, is, that notwithstanding the wars excited by ambition, and notwithstanding the religious quarrels which began to embroil the states of Europe, that same genius which made the polite arts flourish at Rome, Naples, Florence, Venice, and Ferrara, and from thence communicated its discoveries to the rest of Europe; that same genius, I say, immediately civilized the manners of mankind in almost every part of Christendom. This change was in part owing to the court of Francis I. This prince and Charles the Vth had entered into a contest of glory, chivalry, and politeness, even in the midst of their most bloody quarrels; and this contest having created an emulation in the courtiers, adorned that age with an air of grandeur and politeness till then unknown to Europe.

The opulence of the age contributed likewise to this change; and this opulence growing more general, was, by a strange revolution, in part, the consequence of the fatal loss of Constantinople: for not long after, the whole commerce of the Ottoman empire was carried on by Christians, who sold even the spices of the Indies to the Turks, loading their ships with this commodity at Alexandria, and afterwards transporting it to the ports of the Levant.

Industry

Industry was every where excited. Marseilles carried on a prodigious trade, and Lyons had excellent manufactures. The towns of the Low Countries were grown more flourishing than when subject to the house of Burgundy. The introducing of the fair sex to the court of Francis I, made it the center of magnificence as well as of politeness. The manners of the people were more gloomy in England, where a capricious cruel prince sat on the throne; but London at that time was beginning to taste the sweets of commerce.

In Germany the cities of Augsburg and Nurenberg were now the mart of the riches of Asia, which they drew from Venice; so that they soon felt the effects of their correspondence with the Italians. In Augsburg they had several houses, whose walls were adorned with paintings *in fresco* after the Venetian taste. In a word, Europe began to see some halcyon days, when they were soon troubled by the storms which the emulation between Charles V and Francis I unfortunately raised: but above all, the religious disputes which broke out at that time, sullied the end of this century to such a degree, as to render it quite frightful, and to infect it with a kind of barbarousness, unknown even to the ancient Huns and Heruli.

A Chronological TABLE of sovereign princes
for the second volume of this history, which
includes the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

<i>Popes.</i>		Julius II.	1503
Innocent III.	1198	<i>Emperors of Germany.</i>	
Honorius III.	1216	Philip	1199
Gregory IX.	1227	Otho IV.	1208
Celestin IV.	1241	Frederick II.	1212
Innocent IV.	1243	Conrad IV.	1250
Alexander IV.	1254	William, earl of Holland	1254
Urban IV.	1261	Richard, of Cornwall	1257
Clement IV.	1265	Interregnum which last-	1271
Gregory X.	1271	ed two years, viz.	1272
Innocent V.	1276	Rodolph I. count of	1273
Adrian V.	1276	Habsburg	1292
John XXI.	1276	Adolphus of Nassau	1298
Nicholas III.	1277	Albert I.	1308
Martin IV.	1281	Henry VII. of Luxemburg	1314
Honorius IV.	1285	Lewis V. of Bavaria	1347
Nicholas IV.	1288	Charles IV. of Luxemburg	1378
S. Celestin V.	1294	Wenceslaus, king of Bo-	1400
Boniface VIII.	1294	hemia	1411
Benedict XI.	1303	Robert, Elector Palatine	
Clement V.	1305	Sigismund, king of Bo-	
John XXII.	1316	hemia	
Benedict XII.	1334	<i>House of Austria.</i>	
Clement VI.	1342	Albert II.	1438
Innocent VI.	1352	Frederick III.	1440
Urban V.	1362	Maximilian I.	1493
Gregory XI.	1370	Charles V.	1519
Urban VI.	1378	<i>Emperors of Constantinople.</i>	
Clement VII.	1378	Alexius Angelus, called	1195
Boniface IX.	1389	the tyrant	1203
Innocent VII.	1404	Alexius the younger	1203
Gregory X I.	1406	Alexius IV.	1204
Alexander V.	1409	Murtzuphlus	
John XXII.	1410	<i>Latin Emperors.</i>	
Martin V.	1417	Baldwin	1204
Eugene IV.	1431	Henry	1206
Nicholas V.	1447	Peter de Courtenay	1216
Calixtus III.	1455	Robert de Courtenay	1218
Pius II.	1458	Baldwin II.	1228
Paul II.	1464		
Sixtus IV.	1471		
Innocent VIII.	1484		
Alexander VI.	1492		
Pius III.	1503		



A Table of sovereign princes.

<i>The Greek Emperors continued.</i>		Daigo II. resumes the crown	} 1334
Theodore Lascaris	1206	Kwo Mio	
John Duca	1222	Siukwo	1349
Theodore the younger	1255	Kwo Gien II.	1352
John the blind.	1259	Co Jen Ju	1372
Michael Paleologus who retook Constantinople	1260	Go Komatz	1383
Andronicus Paleologus the elder	1282	Seokwo	1413
Andronicus Paleologus the younger	1328	Go Funna So	1429
John Paleologus	1348	Tsfuti Mikaddo II.	1465
John Cantacuzenus	1347	Kafiwabara	1501
John Paleologus restored	1355	<i>Emperors of China.</i>	
Manuel Paleologus	1391	Li-çum	1225
John Paleologus II.	1419	Tu-çum	1265
Constantine Paleologus	1418	Cum-çum	1275
		Tuon-çum	1277
		Ti-pim	1279
<i>Ottoman Emperors.</i>		<i>Of the family called Yven.</i>	
Ottoman	1300	Xi-çu	1280
Orcham	1327	Chim-çum	1295
Solyman I.	1358	Vu-çum	1308
Amurath I.	1361	Gin-çum	1312
Bajazet I.	1389	Ym-çum	1321
Josue or Isa	1402	Yai-tim	1324
Musulman or Calupin	1406	Mim-çum	1329
Moyfes or Musa	1412	Ven-çum	1330
Mahomet I.	1413	Xum-ti	1333
Amurath II.	1421	<i>Of the family called Mim.</i>	
Mahomet II.	1451	Tai-çu	1369
Bajazet II.	1481	Kien-ven-ti	1399
Selim I.	1512	Chin-çu	1404
<i>Emperors of Japan.</i>		Gin-çum	1404
Sintoku	1211	Siven-çum	1426
Forikawa II.	1222	Ym-çum	1436
Si Dfio	1233	Kimti	1450
Saga	1243	Ym-çum resumes the crown	} 1457
Fikakusa II.	1247	Hien-çum	
Kame Jamma	1260	Hiao-çum	1483
Gouda	1275	<i>Grand Moguls or Emperors of India.</i>	
Fufimi I.	1288	Tamerlane	1370
Fufimi II.	1299	Miracha	1405
Nidfio II.	1302	Abouchaid	1451
Fanna Sonno	1308		Secy
Daigo II.	1319		
resigns to Kwo Gien	1332		

A Table of sovereign princes.

Sec-Omor	1469	Henry III.	1216
Babar	1493	Edward I.	1272
<i>Kings of Persia of the Tartar race.</i>		Edward II.	1307
Chinguisan	1224	Edward III.	1327
Oktaykahon	1228	Richard II.	1377
Gayukkan	1242	<i>The line of Lancaster.</i>	
Maechukahon	1247	Henry IV.	1399
Ulohkuhan	1260	Henry V.	1413
Habkaykahon	1262	Henry VI.	1422
Hamedkan	1282	<i>The line of York.</i>	
Arghonkhon	1283	Edward IV.	1461
Gaynatukhon	1292	Edward V.	1483
Baydukhan	1295	Richard III.	1483
Gazun	1296	<i>The families united.</i>	
Alyaptu	1305	Henry VII.	1485
Abufayd	1317	Henry VIII.	1509
Gempfa	1337	<i>Kings of France.</i>	
Tamerlane	1372	Lewis VIII.	1233
<i>Kings of Persia of the faction called the black ram, and successors of Tamerlane.</i>		S. Lewis IX.	1226
Karaissaf	1408	Philip III. called the bold	1270
Mahoreth	1421	Philip IV. called the fair	1285
Amirfcandar	1431	Lewis X. called Hutin	1314
Jaoncha	1438	Philip V. called the Long	1316
Azen-Aly	1468	Charles IV. called the fair	1321
<i>Kings of Persia of the faction called the white ram, and descended from Ussum Cassan.</i>		Philip VI. of Valois	1328
Ussum-Cassan	1470	John surnamed the Good	1330
Yacubbek	1478	Charles V. or the wise	1364
Julaverus	1485	Charles VI. called the	} 1380
Bayfangor	1488	Bien-aimé	
Rustan	1490	Charles VII. called the	} 1422
Achmet	1497	victorious.	
Taraben	1498	Lewis XI.	1461
Alvantes	1498	Charles VIII.	1483
<i>Kings of Persia of the name of Sopbi.</i>		Lewis XII.	1497
Schah Ismael Sopbi I.	1499	Francis I.	1514
Schah Thamas	1525	<i>Kings of Castile.</i>	
<i>Kings of England.</i>		Henry I.	1214
John Lackland	1199	Alfonso IX. king of	} 1217
		Leon and Castile	
		S. Ferdinand III.	1226
		Alfonso X. surnamed	} 1252
		the wise or the astro-	
		nomer	1284
		Sancho III.	Ferdinand

A Table of sovereign princes.

Ferdinand IV.	1295	Martin	1395
Alfonso XI.	1312	Ferdinand the Just.	1412
Peter the Cruel	1350	Alfonso V.	1416
Henry II. surnamed Transtamare	1369	John II.	1458
John I.	1379	Ferdinand V.	1478
Henry III.	1390	Married to Isabella of Castile.	
John II.	1406		
Henry IV. called the im- potent	1454	<i>Kings of Portugal.</i>	
Ferdinand V. called the Catholic, who married Isabella of Castile	1474	Alfonso II.	1212
<i>Kings of Navarre.</i>		Sancho II.	1233
Thibaut I. or the Great, count of Champagne	1234	Alfonso III.	1246
Thibaut II.	1254	Denis	1279
Henry surnamed the Great	1270	Alfonso IV.	1325
Joan I.	1273	Peter I.	1357
Philip the fair	1284	Ferdinand	1367
Lewis Hutin	1314	John I.	1384
Philip the Long	1316	Edward	1433
Charles the Fair	1321	Alfonso V.	1438
Joan II.	1328	John II.	1481
Philip III. count d'Evreux	1328	Emmanuel the Great	1495
Charles surnamed the Bad	1343	John III.	1521
Charles III. surnamed the Noble	1386	<i>Kings of Scotland.</i>	
Blanche II.	1425	Alexander II.	1213
John king of Arragon	1445	Alexander III.	1250
Eleanor	1479	John Baliol	1300
Francis Phœbus	1479	Robert Bruce	1306
Catharine	1483	Robert II. surnamed Stuart	1371
John d'Albret	1484	Robert III.	1390
Henry d'Albret	1516	James I.	1406
Joan III.	1555	James II.	1448
Antony of Bourbon	1548	James III.	1462
Henry IV.	1572	James IV.	1491
<i>Kings of Arragon.</i>		James V.	1514
James I.	1213	<i>Kings of Denmark.</i>	
Peter III.	1275	Waldemar II.	1202
Alfonso I. H.	1286	Eric VI.	1241
James II.	1291	Abel	1250
Alfonso IV.	1327	Christopher I.	1252
Peter IV.	1336	Eric VII.	1259
John	1388	Eric VIII.	1286
		Christopher II.	1321
		Waldemar III.	1333
		Margaret with Aquin	1376
		Eric IX.	1412
		Abdicates and then fol- lows	

A Table of sovereign princes.

flows a six years a-narchy.		Casimir IV.	1444
Christopher III.	1445	John Albert	1492
Christian I.	1448	Alexander	1501
John	1482	<i>Czars of Muscovy.</i>	
Christian II.	1513	Geor. II. 1237	Basil II. 1400
<i>Kings of Sweden.</i>		Joreslaus II.	George III.
Sherco III.	1192	Alexander.	Basil III.
Eric X.	1211	Daniel.	John Basilo.
John I.	1219	John I.	witz the Great
Eric XI.	1223	Simon.	1450
Waldemar	1251	John II.	Basil IV. 1505
Magnus II.	1276	Demetrius II.	
Birger	1282	<i>Kings of Hungary.</i>	
Magnus II.	1326	Ladislaus III.	1204
Albert	1326	Andrew II.	1205
Margaret	1361	Bela IV.	1235
Eric XII.	1396	Stephen V.	1260
Christopher	1438	Ladislaus IV.	1272
Charles VIII.	1448	Andrew III. called the	} 1290
Christian I.	1458	Venetian	
Steno Stur I. Regent	1470	Wenceslaus	1301
John II.	1497	Otho	1305
Steno Stur II. Regent	1504	Charles Robert	1310
<i>Kings of Poland.</i>		Lewis I.	1343
Lescus V.	1195	Mary	1382
Ladislaus III.	1202	Charles III.	1383
Lescus V. restored	1206	Sigismund	1387
Boleslaus V.	1226	Albert of Austria	1438
Lescus VI.	1279	Ladislaus V.	1440
Interregnum of eight	} 1289	John Corvin or Hunniades	1444
years		Ladislaus VI.	1452
Primislaus	1295	Matthias Corvin	1488
Ladislaus IV.	1296	Ladislaus VII.	1490
Wenceslaus k. of Bohemia	1300	Lewis II.	1515
Ladislaus IV. restored	1305	<i>Earls of Savoy and Maurienne.</i>	
Casimir III. or the Great	1333	Thomas	1188
Lewis king of Hungary	1370	Amadeus IV.	1233
Hedwidge married to Ja-		Boniface	1255
gellon duke of Lithua-		Peter	1263
nia, who took the name		Phillip	1268
of		Amadeus V. or the Great	1279
Ladislaus V.	1382	Edward	1323
Ladislaus VI.	1386	Aymon	1329
Ladislaus VII. king of	} 1434	Amadeus VI.	1343
Hungary		Amadeus VII.	1383
		Dukes	

A Table of sovereign princes.

Dukes of Savoy.

Amadeus VIII. resigned	1391
Lewis	1434
Amadeus IX.	1465
Philibert I.	1472
Charles I.	1482
Charles John Amadeus	1490
Philip <i>Lackland</i>	1496
Philibert II.	1496
Charles III.	1504

Doges of Venice.

Chosen the year

Enrico Dandolo	1192
Pietro Ziani	1205
Giacomo Tiepolo	1228
Marino Morosini	1248
Regnier Zeno	1252
Lorenzo Tiepolo	1268
Giacomo Contarini	1275
Giovanni Dandolo	1280
Pietro Gradenigo	1290
Marino Giorgio	1302
Giovanni Soranzo	1313

Francesco Dandolo	1329
Bartolomeo Gradenigo	1339
Andrea Dandolo	1342
Marino Falieri	1354
Giovanni Gradenigo	1355
Giovanni Delfini	1356
Lorenzo Celsi	1361
Marco Cornaro	1365
Andrea Contarini	1368
Michele Morosini	1383
Antonio Venier	1384
Michele Stenone	1400
Tommaso Mocenigo	1413
Francesco Foscari	1423
Pascale Malipiero	1457
Cristoforo Moro	1462
Nicolao Trono	1471
Nicolao Marcelli	1473
Pietro Mocenigo	1474
Andrea Vendramino	1475
Giovanni Mocenigo	1477
Marco Barbarigo	1485
Augustino Barbarigo	1486
Leonardo Loredani	1501

Errata.

P. 26. l. 3. for *by* read *with*. P. 30. l. 16. dele *time*. P. 38. l. 3. dele *spring*. P. 43. l. 3. dele the first *that*. P. 91. l. 8. from the bottom, dele *own*. P. 124. l. 9. for *they* read *laws*. P. 153. l. 4. from the bottom, before *loft*, for a read *the*. P. 168. l. 10. from the bottom, before *abandoned* read *most*. P. 171. l. 1. dele *which was*. P. 180. l. 18. for *caxoni* read *canxoni*. P. 215. l. 20. before *monk* dele *a*. P. 245. l. 18. for *Christianity* read *Cbriftenom*. P. 299. l. 6. from the bottom, dele *it*. P. 305. l. 4. for *these* read *the*. P. 343. l. 8. from the bottom, dele *a* after *of*. P. 352. After the last line insert the following paragraphs.

He maintained the standing custom of the parliaments of the kingdom, which was to pitch upon three persons to fill a vacant place, and the king nominated one of the three. The dignities of the long robe were at that time given to none but advocates; they were the consequence of merit, or of a reputation that supposeth merit. His famous edict of 1499 should never be omitted by our historians, as it has rendered his memory dear to all those who administer, and who seek for justice. By this edict he ordains, *that the law shall always be observed, notwithstanding any contrary orders, which by the importunity of courtiers may be extorted from the monarch.*

Our general plan of studying history, admits but of few details; but particulars, like these, which form the happiness of states, and afford instruction to good princes, merit our special attention.

P. 371. l. 17. before *grandson* dele *great*.



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